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THE NONCONFORMIST.

"The dissidence of dissent and the protestantism of the protestant religion."

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CONTENTS.

ECCLÉSIASTICAL:—	
A Fancy Programme ..	157
CORRESPONDENCE	159
IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT ..	159
COMPLETER SUFFRAGE ..	162
POSTSCRIPT	163
IRELAND	163
SCOTLAND	163
POLITICAL ARTICLES:—	
Summary	164

The Flag Struck	164
Human Hecatombs	165
COURT, &c.	165
FOREIGN NEWS	166
METROPOLITAN	167
PROVINCIAL	167
LITERATURE	170
MARRIAGES AND DEATHS ..	171
TRADE AND COMMERCE ..	171
ADVERTISEMENTS	171

Ecclesiastical Affairs.

A FANCY PROGRAMME.

PREPARATIONS for the forthcoming Anti-state-church conference are now rapidly going forward, and the project which, scarcely three months since, was but a small dry seed, is ripening into full maturity. Time and place are appointed, and a plan of constitution definitively fixed. An outline of the main topics which the Executive Committee will, if permitted, submit to the consideration of the assembled delegates, has been sketched, and the task of embodying them in suitable documents has been entrusted to proper hands. We are not authorised to publish in detail the decisions of the committee. We are most anxious to guard ourselves against any violation of etiquette. But we are deeply impressed with the conviction, that an indication of the general course of business upon which the conference will be likely to enter, will subserve important ends, will correct many mistakes, and will remove from honest minds many serious objections.

We imagine, then, that so soon as the conference has completed its own organic arrangements, selected its officers, and laid down the rules by which its proceedings will be regulated, it will receive, from some member of the Executive Committee, a narrative of the steps which have been taken in connexion with this movement, and a statement of the reasons which seem not merely to justify but to render it imperative. It would appear natural, at the very outset, to supply an answer to the inquiry, "Why is this body of representatives convened?" The responsibility of those who have ventured upon a course so bold and so direct is unquestionably great—the wisdom of doing so does not commend itself to every mind. Is there ought in the aspect of the times—anything appertaining to the principles involved—any demonstrable fitness in the method adopted, which may be held to have imposed upon any party the duty of calling together a conference for the avowed purpose of seeking a separation of the church from the state? This question, we apprehend, will be fairly and fully answered—if for no other object, at least for this—that all men may see that so solemn a proceeding has not been resorted to in an idle or capricious spirit.

This having been done, it would seem proper to agree upon a statement of the principle which national religious establishments, however modified, necessarily violate. Certain institutions are about to be arraigned, as opposed alike to reason and to revelation, as infringing upon fundamental and incontrovertible maxims, both moral and religious. There is a positive truth of which state churches are a negation. What is it? for evidently it is the fitting starting point for the conference. Upon this substantial and granitic foundation the superstructure must be reared. To lay it bare to the inspection of all—to remove from it all superincumbent and concealing rubbish—to mark out its limits—to prove its strength—surely, this were a becoming work for men who meet to build up a system of means for the subversion of establishments. They are bound to show that they proceed on a firm and immovable basis, and every subsequent decision will be more or less affected by the obviousness, the explicitness, the lucidity, of this first.

The question at issue, unfortunately, is not merely an abstract speculation. The departure from truth which state churches exhibit, is productive of serious practical evils. These are both numerous and various—they are not, however, apparent to every eye. An unexaggerated exposition of them will possibly be the next work of the conference. They hang in clusters—and if displayed as they are, in their mutual relationship and coherency—displayed, moreover, at one view—

dissenters, at all events, may learn to regard this "question of questions" as one which, for the sake of men's interests in this world, as well as in the next, craves an early settlement. A condensed and classified description of the practical working of the compulsory principle, even in its mildest forms, will aptly follow, we think, a clear statement of the truth, upon the denial of which establishments are based. "This is the truth from which you deviate," will be not unnaturally succeeded by "These are the bitter fruits of such deviation."

The state-church principle, however, has, even in Great Britain, several forms of development. We meet with it in England and Ireland in connexion with a regular hierarchy—in Scotland, with a presbyterian system of church government—in Canada, with Roman catholicism. It may show itself, as it has threatened to do, in a stipendiary priesthood—or, as it actually has done, in a *regium donum*. To trace out for condemnation the existing forms in which the principle, in this empire, manifests itself—to see to it that the charge is driven home in every instance in which it is fairly applicable—to put its finger upon every embodiment of what it will already have pronounced to be false and injurious—will, in all probability, be the next business of the assembled conference. Looking round the British dominions, it will, doubtless, point out explicitly what are the external modifications of state-churchism, against which its accusation is brought, and for the abolition of which it is about to commence a serious and determined movement. Thus much appears requisite for giving point to its proceedings. It might else be convicted of firing guns into the air.

Here, then, we have a full exposition, under all its aspects, of this most formidable evil. What is the remedy? "A separation of the church from the state" is the ready answer. The phrase is one in current use, but it is far from being generally understood. What does it mean? What arrangements does it involve? What practical changes does it include? What legislative provisions will it render necessary? The conference, we suppose, will address itself to answer such inquiries. The evils are complicated; the remedy, also, is complex. Would it not be well to state the various ingredients which enter into its composition? The foes of free religion have, adroitly enough for their own purposes, interpreted "separation" as synonymous with "destruction." Its friends, also, have adopted various and very incongruous notions respecting it. It is obviously desirable, therefore, to put this matter beyond the possibility of mistake; accurately, and in detail, to specify what we are aiming at, that all excuse may be cut from beneath the feet of those who now misapprehend, or may hereafter misrepresent, the character of that momentous reformation which we may pledge ourselves to work out.

The next step in advance, in order that an appropriate sequence may be observed, will, in all likelihood, be an exposition of the means by which the great undertaking may be legitimately carried on; and a solemn resolution to employ such means, and only such. The weapons of warfare available for Christian men—the modes in which they may be effectively applied—the general principles by which the application of them should be regulated—the prudential maxims which should be observed—may be most usefully set forth at this stage of the business. An answer will thus be furnished to the inquiry, "What is my duty in relation to this matter, and how may I fulfil it?" All parties will then be able to judge respecting the kind of instrumentality to be hereafter employed, whether, it be not such as beseems every enlightened and sober nonconformist.

Lastly—the conference, of course, will not content itself without having adopted a scheme of organisation adapted to carry on the work with vigour. Such a scheme will, we suppose, be submitted to it. A general form of mechanism must be agreed upon—a permanent association created. Details will require to be arranged, plans of action to be laid down, officers to be appointed. The great *desideratum* is to secure unity and vigour of movement, without endangering local and individual freedom. Such a machinery will be useful in various ways—in preparing valuable information from parliamentary sources, for the use, whenever the time shall come, of members of the legislature—in procuring, by competition, able and

popularly written tracts, to meet the wants of the times, and in distributing them throughout the empire—in employing and regulating the movements of lecturers—in planting associations, and superintending their growth. A numerous and influential council, an efficient executive responsible to it, and able officers whose fidelity and zeal shall have approved themselves to the conference, will, we conjecture, be proposed, and will be elected by ballot. This will complete the business. Thanks will, of course, be voted where thanks are considered due; and the assembly may then be dissolved.

Something like this, we venture to predict, will be the programme of business laid by the present executive committee before the conference, on its assembling. Whether it will be adopted or rejected is another question. This we are unable to decide. Looking, however, at the proceedings of similar bodies, we should think its adoption, in substance at least, not by any means unlikely. But should this sketch turn out to be a correct outline of what the anti-state-church conference will do, we ask whether its proceedings will answer to the calumnious vaticinations of some of its most active opponents. What is there here of which even prudent dissenters need be ashamed? What proofs are there of temerity? what traces of violence? To what single step can any Christian nonconformist offer a well-founded objection? We confidently answer, "None;" and on the ground of that confidence we earnestly invite our churches and pastors resolutely to put their hand to this noble and arduous work.

THE ANTI-STATE-CHURCH CONFERENCE.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

MY DEAR SIR—I beg to forward you the following resolutions, unanimously passed at a meeting of the Fraternal Association of Protestant Dissenting Ministers residing in the adjacent parts of Essex, Herts, and Cambridgeshire, comprising the pastors of one baptist and eleven independent churches, held at Morden, Feb. 27th, 1844.

It was moved by the Rev. R. E. Forsyth, of Royston, and seconded by the Rev. G. Moase, of Barrington,

"That the brethren composing this association have heard with great satisfaction, of the formation of an executive committee, with a view to originate a conference of persons opposed to the union of church and state; that they heartily sympathise with this movement, and will be happy to co-operate with the committee in any way in which they can further so desirable an object."

It was moved by the Rev. J. Stockbridge, of Morden, and seconded by the Rev. F. Islip, of Thirfield, "That the foregoing resolution be forwarded to the editors of the *Nonconformist* and *Patriot* newspapers."

I remain, my dear Sir, yours faithfully,
SAMUEL S. ENGLAND, Sec.
Royston, March 6th, 1844.

THE PRESS AND THE ANTI-STATE-CHURCH CONFERENCE.

(From the *Morning Herald* of Monday, March 4.)

Encouraged by the anti-ecclesiastical sentiments which were so unsparingly delivered by the opposition during the monster debate, the dissenting authorities have issued a manifesto of reasons for assembling in London an "Anti-state-church Conference." We inserted the document on Saturday, that churchmen may learn to imitate the zeal and exertions it indicates, and to convince them that now, as in 1835, 1836, 1837, 1838, 1839, and 1840, the battle of the English church must be fought in Ireland. Let any one sceptical of the benefits of a church establishment read the manifesto we have published, and he will see in its feebleness the greatness of the cause to which it is opposed. The manifesto is, in truth, from beginning to end, one string of monstrous assumptions, as gratuitous as inaccurate; it suppresses all reference to the principles on which establishments are founded, in a way very characteristic of dissenting disingenuousness; it bids high for a combination of all sectaries, irrespective of creed or practice, in a manner distinctive of nonconforming unscrupulousness; and it appeals, under the guise of religion, to political sympathies, in conformity with its party origin. Still, whatever be the disingenuousness and unscrupulousness of its contents, the purpose and conduct of the persons from whom it emanates deserve to be watched,

their fallacies exposed, and their designs provided against.

[The same journal recurs to the subject on the following day, and, after relating *more suo* the history of the recent anti-state-church movement, continues :—]

It is, however, to be lamented, that, at the very time the dissenters were inviting churchmen to join with them in manifesting to the whole world the cohesive attraction of common principles, and the essential and vital union by which true Christians, amid all their outward peculiarities, are distinguished, they should organise a new convention for the express purpose of subverting the national church. Can they wonder if churchmen suspect their overtures of peace? Can they be surprised at their keeping aloof from all their schemes, however neutral their aspect or plausible their objects? Can they, with any reason, complain that churchmen, beguiled and deceived, spurn and anathematise the detected wolf in the clothing of the lamb, and denounce a system which desecrates the symbols and the claims of Christian peace to the drudgery of sub-serving the political designs of sectarian faction? Such an institution, however, as the Anti-state-church Association, we entreat dissenters to remember, is not the precursor of the overthrow of the church, but of the ruin of dissent. The strength of dissenters lay, and must lie, in the spirituality of their character; and the moment, therefore, they assume a position of rivalry or opposition to the church of England, that moment their glory must leave them, and they must sink into all the insignificance of an impotent ecclesiastico-political sect, with nothing of the power of Caesar, and less of the principles of Christ. Already destitute of the commanding power of a national establishment, they would now divest themselves of that moral and unostentatious glory which never fails to circulate, as with an imperishable halo, the head of the humblest Christian. The worst calamity the enemies of dissenters can wish them, is their own deliberate assumption of the position of voluntary agitators; for though they have enlisted on their side such men as Candlish, and other kindred spirits, the realisation of whose metaphysical abstractions of an ecclesiastical establishment they themselves sensibly and prudently postpone to the millennium, yet they may depend on it that those churchmen who have contributed to their missions, and even to their chapels, will finally forsake them, and then dissent, left to the support of dissenters, will speedily become a *vox et praeterea nihil*.

[From the *Hants Independent*.]

In England great efforts are making for organising a systematic opposition to the continuance of the connexion between church and state. People are sighing for liberty; all thinking men are longing for freedom of opinion, especially in matters which concern the worship of the Almighty, and in such a matter who has a right to dictate to any man? Who but God himself shall say in what manner his creatures shall worship him?

This subject was ably brought before a large and respectable audience at the Long Rooms, Southampton, on Wednesday the 21st ult., by a gentleman favourably known to the community for his philanthropic exertions in behalf of universal peace and freedom. The lecture by Mr Burnett (of Camberwell) was exceedingly clear, judicious, calm, temperate; yet firm, uncompromising, and irresistibly convincing. We inserted a brief report in our columns, and doubt not the subject will obtain that increased attention from the community which its importance demands. We understand the entire lecture will be immediately published in a separate form at a low price for distribution.

THE ANTI-STATE-CHURCH CONFERENCE.—**MR GILES'S SECOND LECTURE.**—On Tuesday evening, Mr J. E. Giles, baptist minister, of South Parade chapel, in Leeds, delivered his second lecture on the union of church and state, and the movement recently commenced against it. The lectures, as our readers are aware, have been delivered at the request of the committee of the Leeds Sunday School Union. On this occasion, the spacious chapel was filled with a respectable audience, some of whom were under the necessity of standing in the aisles, in consequence of the pews being fully occupied. The lecture was listened to with the most intense interest, and the sentiments expressed by the eloquent lecturer, were responded to with the utmost enthusiasm. Mr Fox, independent minister, again occupied the chair. The object of the lecture was to urge the necessity of an aggressive movement against ecclesiastical establishments, and the peculiar fitness of a conference as the commencement of such a movement. The report of Mr Giles's lecture occupies nearly five columns of the *Leeds Times*. It was most enthusiastically received. Our confined limits prevent us giving even a summary of the lecturer's arguments. At the close the following resolution was carried:—

"That the thanks of this meeting be given to Mr Giles, for his able and talented lecture; and that this meeting, having the greatest confidence in his firmness and determination, in the great struggle for the emancipation of the church of Christ, regard his appointment as one of the Executive Committee, for preparing the business of the ensuing convention, with the utmost satisfaction and pleasure; and request him to make this resolution known to the committee."

On the proposition of Mr Parkin, seconded by Mr Tunnicliffe, a committee was then formed to carry out the objects of the Convention in that town.

THE BIBLE MONOPOLY.

On Thursday evening, a public meeting was held in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, in the lecture-room, Nelson street, to promote the circulation of the sacred

scriptures free from the monopoly tax; for not only wheaten bread, but the "bread of life," is the subject of a monopoly in this "free country!" There was a large attendance of the inhabitants, notwithstanding the very imperfect announcement which was given of the meeting; and not the least remarkable (nor the least pleasing) feature of the assemblage was the predominance of the working classes. R. B. Sanderson, Esq., of West Jesmond, presided over the proceedings. Mr Childs, of Bungay, was addressing the meeting when we entered the lecture-room. He delivered an interesting narrative of the efforts that had been made, for many years, to overthrow the Bible monopoly, and paid a high and well-merited tribute to Mr Joseph Hume, M.P., who was at all times ready to call the committee of the House of Commons together, whenever evidence could be obtained tending to break down the iniquitous privileges of the monopolists. Mr Childs expressed his joy at the present movement in Newcastle, having for its object, as well the introduction of the free-trade bibles of the Scottish Board into England, as the production of bibles for themselves, if they shall find occasion. He hoped the movement would spread from Northumberland southward and westward, until it covered the whole country; and that free bibles would be printed, not only in Scotland, but in Newcastle itself, and all over the land. When he asserted several years ago, in the face of the monopolists, that the scriptures might be printed 25 per cent. cheaper than by the patentees, he was laughed at; and yet he was certain, at that time, that they might be printed still cheaper; but, to protect himself from the imputation of extravagance in his representations, he thought it well to be moderate in what he said. And now, the Bible was sold at a much lower price than he had ventured to predict; and it would be sold lower still. The monopolists, however much they might dread the importation of bibles from Scotland, where the patent had been abolished, would not dare to apply for an injunction against the importers. They knew the worthlessness of their claim to the exclusive printing and sale of the Bible, and would wisely act with that "better part of valour" which consists in "discretion." To create a prejudice against the opponents of monopoly, it was sometimes said that they wished to reduce the wages of the working printer. But this was untrue: reduction in price did not depend on reduction of wages.—The Rev. Dr Thomson, of Coldstream, carried the meeting back to the time when the printing of the Bible was a monopoly in Scotland, and when an English bible could not be sold north of the Tweed. Sir David Hunter Blair, who knew nothing whatever of the art of printing, pocketed £10,000 a year from the patent; and Mrs Bruce, who had never set foot in a printing office, also reaped a handsome income from the monopoly; neither the lady nor the gentleman making the slightest return for the money received.—Mr R. B. Sanderson, jun., moved the establishment of a North of England Free Bible Society, to comprise every friend of Bible circulation, without regard to creed or doctrine, and to hold its annual meetings on the third Wednesday in June. A dépôt to be formed, for the supply of Bibles and Testaments at the lowest possible price. The society to purchase in the cheapest market, but to deal in preference with the Scottish Board for Bible Circulation. The proceeds from the sales to be applied, primarily, to supplying the indigent with Bibles at reduced prices, or even *gratis*, as the case may require. Subscribers to have the privilege, if they choose, of taking, for their own use or for distribution, copies of the Scriptures to the full value of their subscriptions. Any surplus funds in the hands of the society, at the end of the year, to be given in aid of some benevolent object. Subscribers of one shilling and upwards a year to be members of the society, and to have a vote in the election of its officers and the management of its affairs. [There were several other details, into which we need not enter. Mr Sanderson carefully explained the whole of them, and briefly, but forcibly, justified the constitution of the society.]—Dr Thomson seconded the motion, and it was unanimously adopted.—The Rev. J. Robertson, of Wallsend, moved the election of a provisional board of management, viz. R. B. Sanderson, Esq. (president), Ralph Walters, Esq., John Richardson, Esq., Rev. Messrs Pringle, Browning, Adams, and Robertson, and Messrs Douglas, Wimblett, Coxon, jun., Redshaw, and Sanderson, jun. (secretary).—Mr R. H. Haggie having seconded the motion, it was passed unanimously.—On the motion of the Rev. James Pringle, seconded by M. Forster, Esq., thanks were given to Dr Thomson and Mr Childs; and on the motion of the Rev. D. C. Browning, seconded by the Rev. Mr Blackwood, a similar compliment was paid to the chairman. The meeting, which had been very enthusiastic, then separated. Its object is in the highest degree praiseworthy, and we wish its promoters every success.—*Gateshead Observer*.

THE PRESBYTERIAN MARRIAGE QUESTION.

THE excitement throughout the province of Ulster, consequent upon the recent judgment of the House of Lords respecting the invalidity in certain cases of marriages celebrated by presbyterian ministers, appears to be little short of that which followed the royal declaration against the repeal agitation in the early part of last summer.

On Wednesday a meeting of the Irish Presbyterian Assembly on the subject, took place at Belfast; the Moderator, Dr Stewart, in the chair. The Chairman stated, that three of the law lords had declared against, and three in favour of, the presbyterians. They might, therefore, consider the verdict against them. A committee was appointed to prepare resolutions; and the meeting adjourned.

The assembly resumed at seven o'clock the same evening; the following resolutions were adopted:—

"1. That, it being the duty and privilege of the Church, in all time of peril and perplexity, to take counsel of God, this Assembly, in consequence of the attempt which is being made to denude her ministers of the privileges they have hitherto enjoyed, in the solemnisation of marriage, thereby denying their pastoral character, appoint the last Wednesday in March inst a day of special religious exercise, in all her congregations, when our ministers are recommended to preach sermons suitable to the occasion.

"2. That, inasmuch as it has been declared, by judges and eminent lawyers, that marriages solemnised between episcopalians and presbyterians, by presbyterian ministers, are invalid, in consequence of presbyterian ministers not being prelatically ordained—an adjudication which conveys a stigma upon the presbyterian body, constituting one half of the protestants of the world, and which deprives the presbyterians of Ireland of a privilege enjoyed upwards of two hundred years—this assembly petition the Legislature for an act removing this stigma, and securing to the ministers of this church the privileges which they have hitherto exercised in the solemnisation of marriage.

"3. That public meetings be held in all the towns of Ireland, where it is practicable; to which protestants of all denominations shall be invited, and from which petitions shall be forwarded to both houses of parliament.

"4. That a similar petition be sent from all our congregations.

"5. That a committee be appointed to open a correspondence with evangelical dissenters, throughout the empire; and, more especially, with the free church of Scotland, soliciting their sympathy and support, in a cause which involves, not only the rights of the church, but the interests generally of Christian truth and freedom; and that this committee hold its first meeting to-morrow.

"6. That a deputation consisting of the Moderator, Dr Browne, Dr Cooke, Dr Henry, Messrs H. J. Dobbin, with Counsellor Gibson, John Boyd, M.P., Geo. Matthews, and A. J. Macrory, Esqrs, be appointed to proceed to London, to wait upon the leading members of the government and the legislature."

The speeches in support of the resolutions were of a very stirring character. Dr Browne urged them to adopt as their motto, "No surrender." Dr Dill held out a half-threat.

He stated that they (the presbyterians) had shown what they could suffer; but he (Dr Dill) cautioned those who were now opposed to them not to reckon too largely on their capabilities of endurance. He said, that were the presbyterians of the north to combine with the catholics of the south, the government of the country could not long resist a demand that had been lately made upon it, by which it was sought to separate the two countries. He brought this forward merely as an instance why the legislature should not look lightly on so important a body as the presbyterians. They (the ministers) received state allowances, to be sure; but he challenged the Chancellor of the Exchequer to bring forward any case in which less money was paid for the same amount of services rendered. It was really too bad that, after a period of two hundred years, they were now to be stripped of their ministerial functions, which had been handed down to them by their predecessors. "Is it (said he) gracious, then? Is it just? Is it wise, to estrange and insult the people who preserve the ecclesiastical establishment of Ireland, and the integrity of the empire itself? Is it not most ungrateful and unjust on the part of the episcopal church, after having solicited and obtained our assistance when in difficulty and danger, to turn round the very instant her revenues were secured to inflict on us the most grievous indignity it was possible for them to offer" [loud applause].

A petition to parliament was then adopted, and the Assembly adjourned to the following day.

On Thursday the Assembly held another meeting, when the arrangements were completed for meetings to be held all through the country to petition parliament. This agitation will assume a very formidable character, and it seems likely that the established church of Ireland will not be forgotten. "It is very likely," says the *Banner of Ulster*, "that the impolicy and the outrageous extravagance of endowing one man with an income of £23,000 annually may be asserted before large audiences, at many meetings in Ireland during the present month. The system that permits it may be styled impolitic and anti-Christian."

GREENWICH.—CHURCH RATES.—Mr Hodges, one of the collectors of the church rates for the parish of St Alphege, Greenwich, attended before Mr Traill, on Saturday, for the purpose of obtaining orders for the payment of church rates due by defaulters, the principal of whom were dissenters. A few days since several respectable inhabitants were summoned for the amounts respectively due from them. They one and all positively refused to pay on principle, contending, also, that the rate was illegal. Mr Traill said, that if the illegality of the rate was the ground of opposition, and the parties intended to try the matter in the Ecclesiastical court, he had no jurisdiction. Mr Bass, of Blackheath hill, Messrs Carpenter, &c., &c., said they did not intend to adopt that course, but, acting on advice, they should bring actions of trespass in the event of distress warrants being used. On Mr Hodges subsequently applying, Mr Traill suggested that, notwithstanding the refusal to pay in court, a formal demand should be made, which was done, and the same peremptory refusal to pay was given, on which the orders were applied for. Mr Traill said he could not, of course, refuse to sign the orders; but, since the discussion, he had referred to the General act, 55 Geo. III., cap. 127, sec. 7, and found that the parties summoned had the right of appeal to the quarter sessions against any order made for payment of church rates. This explanation created considerable surprise to parties interested in the case, as the privilege was not generally known. The orders were granted.

CHURCH RATES AT HALSINGDEN.—We learn from the *Blackburn Mercury* that last week twelve inhabitants of this parish were summoned before the magis-

rates of this district for non-payment of church-rates. The defendants pleaded that in many respects the rate was illegal, and gave in written notices of their objections. The magistrates thought there was not sufficient ground for the objections; but on further consideration it occurred to them that if they proceeded to make orders, the question as to the sufficiency of the notice might be again raised on an appeal by the defendants at the Quarter Sessions, and that after a decision there it might still be necessary to take their cases into the ecclesiastical court; and they therefore thought that to make orders might involve a greater sacrifice of expense and time; and under that impression considered it the more prudent course to decline adjudicating.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AND STATE CHURCHES.—R. B. Sanderson, Esq., of West Jesmond, delivered his concluding lecture on ecclesiastical establishments on Wednesday evening, in the Nelson Street lecture room, under the auspices of the Newcastle and Gateshead Religious Freedom Society. We regret that, owing to an imperative engagement on this side of the Tyne, we were prevented from hearing Mr Sanderson's interesting and instructive address (for such, we are informed, it was); but we are in some degree reconciled to the privation, by the knowledge that it will be printed and published, uniform with the preceding lectures. The attendance, as on former occasions, was crowded. The Rev. Dr Thompson, of Coldstream, the celebrated adversary of the Bible monopoly, was in the chair. Mr Childs, of Bungay, too, was present—another industrious and successful promoter of cheap bibles, and one who has suffered severely in person for the cause of religious liberty. Mr Sanderson read a letter from the Rev. H. E. Head, written at Berne, in Switzerland, excusing himself from attending the meeting, but promising to visit Newcastle soon after his return to England. At the close of the lecture, thanks were given to Mr Sanderson by acclamation, on the motion of the Rev. J. Pringle, seconded by the Rev. J. Robertson, of Wallsend. [A new feature of public meetings was presented on this occasion, viz., the presence of nearly twenty amateur phonographic reporters!—*Gateshead Observer*.]

CHURCH AND STATE.—Upon this all-important subject public meetings continue to be held—lectures are delivered—publications are circulated, to enlighten the minds of the public in England; and we feel assured, from the knowledge we possess of the sentiments entertained by a large portion of the inhabitants of this island, that the same kind of machinery will ere long be in operation throughout the length and breadth of the land.—*Jamaica Baptist Herald*.

GROSS VIOLATION OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.—We learn, from a correspondent of the *Derby Reporter*, that until lately there existed at Lewcott Gate, in the parish of West Hallam, a flourishing Sunday school in connexion with the independent body, at which divine service was performed on the Sabbath—

“But, lamentable to tell, this once flourishing and beneficial Sunday school is no more, and the ‘joyful sound’ of the gospel is no longer heard at Lewcott Gate. And how is this? Is it because there are no children willing to be taught, or because there are no persons willing to teach them? Is it because there are no people anxious to hear the gospel, or because there is no minister anxious to preach it? No; but a prohibition has been issued by the landlord, who is the proprietor of the entire parish. A few weeks ago an order was received that the school should be broken up, and the preaching discontinued; even the small favour (though earnestly implored) of preaching a farewell sermon was denied. The people and children were discharged from attending, and were informed that no dissenter should be tolerated any longer on the estate. The landed proprietor has been remonstrated with on the subject; but no redress has yet been granted, neither is there any hope now entertained that the cruel prohibition will be withdrawn at present. About twelve months ago the primitive methodists were discharged, and a few weeks ago the independents were discharged, and now the Wesleyans are discharged, and thus the inhabitants of this populous parish are now consigned to the sole domination and instruction of the established church.”

FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

A public meeting was held at Enon chapel, New Church street, Marylebone, on Tuesday, March 6th, attended by a crowded audience—Patrick Maxwell Stewart, Esq., M.P., in the chair—to receive a deputation, consisting of the Rev. C. W. Buchan, Rev. W. Cowe, Rev. R. Carment, and Mr Bridges, an elder. After singing, and an appropriate prayer by Rev. J. Burns (minister of the chapel), the chairman opened the business of the evening by a short but impressive speech, and then introduced the deputation, the members of which severally addressed the meeting at some length, with much energy and evident effect. A resolution, expressive of the sympathy of the meeting, having been passed, and the usual vote of thanks to the chairman, the Rev. J. Burns announced a donation of £10 to the cause from a lady, a member of his congregation, and a liberal collection was finally made in aid of the building fund. The warmth and cordiality evinced at the meeting were of so marked a character as to draw forth expressions of lively satisfaction both from the deputation and from the honourable and respected chairman.—*From a Correspondent*.

PUBLIC MEETING AT EXETER HALL.—On Monday evening, a meeting of the friends of the Free church of Scotland was held in Exeter hall, to hear addresses from the deputation now in London. By six o'clock, the hour appointed for the meeting, the hall was densely crowded. On the platform were Drs M'Kellar, Forbes, Candlish, Wilson, and Buchanan, a large number of the prominent members and supporters of the Free church, and many dissenting ministers. Mr P. M. Stewart, M.P., was called to

the chair, and, after an introductory prayer by Dr Jenkyn, addressed the meeting. Dr M'Kellar, Dr Buchanan, and Sir James Forrest, followed in explanation of the principles, position, and recent proceedings of the Free church. The Hon. and Rev. Baptist Noel was the next speaker, and, in coming forward to address the meeting, was received with loud cheers, which lasted for several minutes. The honourable and reverend gentleman spoke for two hours and a half, with his customary eloquence and ability, expressing the most cordial sympathy with the Free church of Scotland. He went to the ecclesiastical authorities, and maintained that the great principle, that a pastor should not be intruded on a congregation, was not only borne out by scripture, but by almost all the great writers on ecclesiastical polity in the English language. The sole headship of Christ, also, he maintained to be a fundamental principle of the church of Scotland, and one that could be delegated to no one [cheers]. The reverend gentleman concluded by moving a resolution expressing cordial concurrence with the views advocated by the deputation. Dr Leifchild seconded the resolution, which was carried by acclamation. Dr Candlish next addressed the meeting, and was greeted with loud cheers. He spoke at considerable length, and his address was fervid and eloquent. After a cordial vote of thanks to the chairman, the meeting broke up about eleven o'clock.

Meetings have also been held during the past week at Brunswick chapel, Dover road, and the Scottish church, St George's road, Southwark. On Sunday, eighteen sermons were preached in various dissenting places of worship in aid of the building fund. Dr Candlish preached at Surrey chapel, but the attendance was not so large as might have been expected.

At Oxford, the deputation have met with a rebuff. The mayor “hesitates” to grant them the use of the town hall; the vice-chancellor pleads “the state of the university” in excuse for his refusal of the Star Assembly rooms. The meeting will therefore be held in a dissenting chapel.

THE FREE-CHURCHMEN IN AMERICA.—In the *New York Observer* we find the following report of the views put forth by Dr Cunningham, the mouth-piece of the deputation from the Free church of Scotland, at a meeting with his western friends in that city:—

“The Rev. Dr Edwards asked if the churches of America could now contribute to the Free church, with the full understanding that hereafter there would be no connexion between that church and the state?

“Dr Cunningham replied that it was of course impossible for him to state what might be; but he could say that there was not the least probability of any such connexion. There were serious obstacles in the way of entailing any such proposal, and those obstacles were increasing every day.

“Rev. Dr Patton would ask if Dr C. could suppose a case in which the Free church would accept state patronage. Suppose the British government should concede all they asked, allow them to elect their pastors and manage their church matters their own way, would they be willing to come under the pay of the state?

“Dr Cunningham replied with entire freedom and great felicity. He said the Free church had now allied itself to the great family of Christians who are severed from all connexion with the state; and he was confident that his brethren would never consent to accept anything at the hands of the state that would give one denomination the preference over another. They were now dissenters; they had joined that brotherhood, and there they should abide. He did not believe there was the most remote prospect of their ever changing their position. At the same time he could not see where there would be the least loss of liberty or sacrifice of principle in the church receiving pecuniary aid from the state, on the conditions named.

“Rev. Dr Krebs then submitted a resolution expressing the sympathy of the meeting with the Free church, and commanding Dr Cunningham to the American churches. He sustained it with a few pertinent observations, declaring his entire satisfaction with the views expressed by Dr Cunningham, his great gratification in seeing him as the representative of the Free church, and his firm persuasion that the Christians of America would give him a cordial welcome.”

Correspondence.

DISSENTING ORGANS AND THE ANTI-STATE-CHURCH CONFERENCE.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR—Can you account for the total silence of our denominational periodicals up to this time, on the one all-absorbing question of the day, with true-hearted dissenters—the approaching “Anti-state-church Conference?”

The editors of the *Congregational* and *Evangelical*, both have, for years past, been telling us, directly or indirectly, that the established church of this country is one of the greatest hindrances to the success of the gospel at home, as well as the decided enemy to both civil and religious liberty; and now (O brave consistency!) that something like a real effort is begun to be made to shake off the hateful incubus, those same gentlemen, by their marked silence, do their best to cast contempt on the important and interesting movement!

What can they mean by such conduct? Why do they thus hold back? Are they fearful of losing subscribers by a bold and open avowal of their wishes, at least, for the success of our laudable and honest (even if not wise) endeavours? If such is their apprehension, it appears to me to be quite unfounded; and that, in fact, they are going the very way to diminish their subscription list, by this unbecoming, unnatural neutrality. For, in a cause like this, with so many adversaries, it may emphatically be said, “they that are not with us are against us.”

The former of the magazines mentioned is styled the “accredited organ” of our body. Can it be, that a certain influential board has enjoined such a mode of proceeding as that complained of? If so, 'tis time for sincere and conscientious congregationalists to signify their displeasure (I was going to say disgust), at such interference on the one hand, and subserviency on the other, by withdrawing their countenance and support from so

imperfect and unworthy a vehicle of their views and principles. Mr B., as well as Drs M. and C., may be, and no doubt are, very talented and much respected men; but, if they choose to serve our enemies' cause (as they virtually do) by disowning thus long the greatest enterprise, perhaps, the nonconformists have ever engaged in, our duty as honest independents, I humbly conceive, is to throw our weight and patronage into those periodicals where the great question we are taking up has been, and is, warmly approved and advocated; and, happily, there a few staunch adherents, though (with shame I speak it) not one, I believe, of our own immediate body! The *Eclectic Review* more especially deserves our countenance and support; but, as its cost stands in the way of a very extensive circulation, it is much to be wished we could get up a threepenny, sixpenny, or shilling monthly, as our own accredited organ, and call it the *Anti-state-church Magazine*. I believe a very large proportion of every nonconforming body would gladly hail the appearance of such a periodical, and, if conducted with talent and energy, it must soon tell greatly on the country.

I hope something will be done quickly to remedy the want complained of. For my own part, I intend discontinuing the pamphlets chiefly alluded to above, as unworthy the support of genuine nonconformists in a time such as this. Their advocacy of the great cause would, no doubt, have been very acceptable and useful; but, as they have been weighed in the balance and found wanting, I trust we shall be able to do without them.

NIL DESPERANDUM.

Foot of the Cotswolds, March 6th, 1844.

P.S. Is it not amusing to see the *Congregational*, in its notes this month on passing events, giving more than half a page to some late tractarian matters, and hailing the formation of “a society for the maintenance of scriptural principles, &c.,” without deigning a solitary remark, *en passant*, on the proposed anti-state-church convention? Could the *Quarterly*, *British Critic*, *Blackwood*, or the *Church and State Magazine* itself, treat the movement with greater contempt? “Save me from my friends!”

Imperial Parliament.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

PETITIONS FOR THE WEEK.

Corn laws, against alteration of, 183.

Factories bill, against, 14.

Foreign wool, for reduction of duty on, 1.

Military establishment, against increase of, 45.

Poor law, for alteration of, 6.

—against ditto, 3.

Railways, for free competition in carriage of goods on, 3.

Redress of grievances, for withholding the supplies until investigated, 12.

Slavery, for alteration of the law, 1.

St Asaph and Bangor dioceses, against union of, 3.

Tobacco, for reduction of duty on, 158.

Union with Ireland, for repeal of, 40.

BILLS PRESENTED AND READ A FIRST TIME.

Parishes (Scotland) bill.

Three-and-a-half per cent. bill.

BILLS READ A SECOND TIME.

Masters and servants bill.

Teachers of Schools (Ireland) bill.

CONSIDERED IN COMMITTEE.

County Coroners bill.

Three-and-a-half per cent. Annuities.

SUPPLY.—£110,000, royal bounty; £1,250,792, pensioners, Chelmsford, Kilmainham, &c.; £38,500, retired allowances, military public departments; £158,231, general staff officers; £90,308, public military departments; £13,408, royal military asylum; £88,077, volunteer corps; £1,649, services unprovided; £13,953, rewards for distinguished services; £77,000, pay of general officers, not being colonels of regiments; £62,300, full pay for reduced and retired officers; £450,000, half pay for reduced and retired officers; £54,932, half pay disbanded foreign corps; £141,610, pensions of widows of officers of land forces; £127,043, salaries, office of ordnance; £111,707, royal engineers and sappers and miners; £343,552, artillery, &c.; £39,297, salaries to barrack masters; £483,721, ordnance works, barracks, &c.; £166,796, ordnance surveys; £239,580, stores; £163,680, pensions, military and civil; £174,688, commissariat.

WAYS AND MEANS.—Resolved, that, towards making good the supply granted to her Majesty, the sum of £8,000,000 be granted out of the consolidated fund of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

DEBATES.

Thursday, March 7th.

TRADE WITH THE BRAZILS.

Mr LABOUCHERE brought on his motion respecting our commercial relations with the Brazils. That vast empire, with its fertile soil, climate, and increasing population, now amounting to seven millions, seemed to be formed by nature to hold beneficial commercial relations with this country. Yet, while the maximum rate which the Brazils laid on our manufactures was only fifteen per cent., we laid upon their sugars a duty equal to 300 per cent., and on their coffee 200 per cent. *ad valorem*. The annual amount of Brazilian exports was upwards of seven millions sterling, and the three principal articles of export were sugar, coffee, and cotton wool—the latter being the only one which we admitted at a reasonable rate. Our exports to the Brazils, in ordinary years, averaged about two millions and a half; but it was a struggling and declining trade. Our merchants, unable to bring back directly return cargoes of Brazilian produce, were obliged to freight their ships with home cargoes from other countries; and thus, while our merchants and manufacturers were compelled to struggle in the Brazilian market with the active competition of the United States, France, Germany, &c., our shipping interest were obliged to maintain a losing circuitous trade. Struggling, however, as it was, it was still important. The treaty of 1827 expires in November next; and, in this great crisis, our merchants, who saw our commercial intercourse with the Brazils in great jeopardy, were anxious to know what course our government were about to adopt. The present government, notwithstanding their high expectations, had not been a whit more successful than their predecessors in effecting reciprocal, or tariff, treaties with other countries. The only mode of preserving, and by preserving to extend, our trade with the Brazils, was a prompt, large, and liberal

reduction of duties. Now, above all other, was the time to put an end to the sugar monopoly—a monopoly in the strictest sense of the term. The intentions of the late ministers, in 1841, were resisted on the double ground of not encouraging slavery, and of an adequate supply of sugar being furnished by our own colonies; and Lord Sandon, who led the opposition, came down to the House with an elaborate estimate of our anticipated colonial production, which had failed in all its results. If the government were really determined to maintain the sugar monopoly, let them boldly say so, and give as "stout" a pledge on sugar as on corn. While our consumption of tea and coffee was increasing, that of sugar was diminishing; and yet, with our horror of encouraging slavery, we were increasing the amounts of slave-grown imported sugar, which was refined in bond, and sent out to our own West Indian colonies, and elsewhere. Nay, by the recent tariff we were increasing our imports of slave-grown coffee from the Brazils; and, though the cultivation of sugar might be held to be more laborious than that of coffee, the same plea could not be urged with respect to slave-produced copper ore, the importation of which was rapidly increasing. The government and the House were now called on to weigh seriously the present condition of this important subject; and he asked them to agree to an address to her Majesty, praying for the adoption of such measures as may be best calculated to maintain and improve our commercial relations with the Brazils.

Mr EWART seconded the motion, in an address of some length. He had no ungenerous distrust of the intentions of Sir R. Peel, but he was controlled by the powerful interests arrayed behind him [this metaphorical allusion, contrasting oddly with the thinness of the ministerial benches, raised some laughter].

Mr GLADSTONE would studiously abstain from disclosing, in the month of March, the financial plans of the government, which ought not to be promulgated till April, so, whether or not the sugar duties were to be altered, he would leave to guess, and the chances were at least even that the guess might be wrong. He resisted the motion on two grounds, because it censured the government, and demanded changes without reference to the happiness of a large portion of the human race. He never knew a chain of reasoning so completely logical or demonstrative as that which connected the extension of the cultivation of Brazilian sugar with the increase of the slave trade. Our measures were diminishing the slave trade; our cruizers obstructed it and kept it in check, but any relaxation of vigilance would lead to its instant revival. If we could effectually blockade the coast of Africa, and thus entirely suppress the slave trade, then the sugar of Brazil might stand in the same relation as the cotton of the United States. The culture of coffee, light, and adapted to family arrangements, did not tempt the slave trader; that of sugar, requiring greater strength and labour, was the main incentive to the traffic, which consisted chiefly in the transport of youths just reaching the maturity of their physical powers. The failure of the mission of Mr Ellis arose from the demands of Brazil. The mission of M. Ribeiro had also failed; for the exaggerated importance which had been attached to the Brazilian trade, threw insuperable difficulties in the way. Duties were proposed, not for revenue, but for protection, in favour of the extension of Brazilian manufactures. There was good ground for disbelieving the rumour that a treaty had been concluded between France and the Brazils, nor had he much apprehension that other countries would supersede us.

He regretted the reservation which government had been compelled to make with regard to so important an article as sugar; a reservation which he felt became more and more invidious every day on account of the manner in which other interests had been dealt with; and, while he deprecated over-estimate of the Brazilian trade, he admitted its importance, and would even be among the first to seize any legitimate opportunity of extending it; but he was not disposed to pursue, at all risks, commercial objects, disregarding considerations of great practical weight and moment connected with the interests of humanity.

Mr M. GIBSON could not see why our artisans should be deprived of the advantage of cheap sugar, because the Brazilians, in imitation of our two and three hundred per cent. duties, proposed to levy duties of thirty and forty per cent. The pretence of not encouraging slavery was mere pretence. The West India interest complained of great distress, which was clearly traceable, on the evidence of those interested, not to emancipation, but to that very protective system to which they clung. No just or valid reason could be assigned for any differential duty which restricted supply and crippled trade. The sugar duties were about to expire, and he warned ministers that they would encounter strenuous opposition at every stage if they proposed to renew them on the principle of exclusion. It was always either emigration or immigration—a man starving from the corn monopoly at home was told to emigrate; and when the sugar monopoly restricted our supplies, we were called on to wait till immigration had supplied the additional labour requisite for raising more. Protection was at the root of all our difficulties.

Lord SANDON thought, after the exhaustive speech of Mr Gladstone, that the Brazils would not be so much the pet of the free traders as heretofore. The duties were undoubtedly in a very anomalous state—63s. for protection was perfectly absurd. But considerations of humanity were not to be overlooked, even if they had become unfashionable in the house.

Mr BRIGHT indulged in some personal allusions to a former connexion of Mr Gladstone's family with

slavery. He denounced the dishonest plea on the score of slavery—

He was aware that the Anti-slavery Committee had sent some kind of memorial or report to the government against the reduction of the duties on foreign sugars, but he knew also that in this course they had not been supported by any of the anti-slavery societies in the provinces. The Hibernian Society, as well as those of Glasgow, Liverpool, Birmingham, Manchester, Hitchin, Hertfordshire, Devizes, and many others, had seceded from the central society on that very ground, and the society, in consequence of this fatal error, had fallen into complete helplessness. From his own experience, he (Mr Bright) having visited almost every borough in England during the last few months, could safely say that anti-slavery notions would not be a hindrance in the way of any gentleman who came forward in favour of free-trade opinions.

Why all this concern about the morality of the Brazils, at the expense of the suffering people of this country?

He declared that he could only express the disgust and amazement with which he listened to the manner in which noble lords and hon. gentlemen spoke of the Africans in the Brazils, while entirely overlooking the famishing population in their own manufacturing counties and agricultural districts [hear]. Who were they who had scruples about the introduction of Brazilian sugar into this country? Not the poor, but the rich; and yet the rich were amply fed out of the short supply of that article before the poor could obtain a share. If the president of the board of trade, or the noble lord the member for Liverpool, had no scruple to use other productions of slave labour, how came it they had a right, by reason of their conscientious scruples, to deny five out of six of the population a supply of sugar, though coming from Brazils?

The object of the sugar monopoly was precisely the same as that in corn—to make the article scarce and dear; and the real question was not to be evaded by making it a mere *tu quoque* argument between whig and tory.

Now, you monopolists all hang together. You are discussing the question of sugar to-night, but it is the same interest, whether it be corn, sugar, or timber ["Oh, oh," from Colonel Sibthorp]. I believe that sound came from the gallant member for Lincoln ["Hear, hear," from Colonel Sibthorp]. I met that gallant member at Lincoln, and I asked the farmers and landlords there, who objected to the repeal of the corn-law, what they would do with the sugar duties, supposing the corn-law should be repealed? "Why," said they, "we would repeal them to-morrow." "What! total and immediate?" "Certainly," said they, "total and immediate." I asked a sugar planter on the ministerial side of the house, who was only a sugar planter, what he would do with the corn-law if the sugar monopoly were to be abolished? "Why," said he, "sweep it away immediately." "What! total and immediate repeal?" "Yes, for it would then become instantly illegal" [cheers and laughter].

He appealed warmly to ministers to look to the common and universal interests of the country, and spurn the domination of mere monopolists.

Mr F. BARING was convinced from the speech of Mr Gladstone, that the real evil in the now almost hopeless case of our intercourse with the Brazils, was the obstruction which had been interposed in the settlement of the sugar duties; had it been permitted some years ago, the Brazilians would never have dreamed of bolstering up a manufacturing system by productive duties. He entered into details in order to show how the monopoly restricted the consumption of sugar in this country, and dwelt on the futility of the slavery argument.

Sir R. PEEL, in a jocular style, brought to the recollection of the House that the whig government resisted this very motion in 1840, when made by Mr Ewart. Figures for several years did not bear out the allegation of diminished supply and high prices; for last year was one in which the consumption had been greatest, and the price lowest. He admitted the great importance of sugar to the comfort and convenience of the community at large. But this was not to be obtained by yielding to unreasonable propositions; and though he hoped a better spirit would actuate the Brazilian government, that was not to be promoted by a vote of the House, which would encourage their exaggerated ideas, and which would practically take the matter out of the hands of the executive government. Mr Gibson had stated that the Anti-slavery Society were adverse to the views of government: in disproof, Sir Robert read a communication dated February 9th, 1844, addressed to himself by Mr Thomas Clarkson, in the name of the Society, urging new measures for the extinction of slavery, deprecating *armed* intervention, recommending the admission of free-grown produce from all parts of the world on the same footing as the produce of our own colonies, but desiring "that no relaxation should be permitted in the existing duty on the produce of slave-labour." He very much doubted whether it was the true economy to consider, with Mr Bright, only the interest of the consumer.

To say that the interest of the consumer is to be alone attended to, opens a very grave question; and I will say to the honourable member for Durham, that if his principle be good, we should have made no effort whatever for the extinction of slavery; because, if you revive slavery in your own possessions, you will have sugar cheaper. If cheapness be the only object, why do we go to an immense expense for the purpose of enforcing the observance of slave-treaties? or why do we not allow our own colonies to import slaves? When they did so, sugar was cheaper than at present, and you were not only enabled to supply this country, but had a surplus. To say, then, that the consideration of cheapness, or the interest of the consumer, is alone to be attended to, is an impeachment of every act you have hitherto attempted with a view to extinguish the horrors of slavery, and of every shilling you have expended in the prosecution of that object.

Ministers were about to adopt a new plan, conceding that past efforts to repress the slave-trade had been unavailing.

It is difficult to prevent the landing of slaves by thou-

sands and tens of thousands; for the authorities connive at it, self-interests are too powerful, and the treaties are not fairly executed. It has been suggested to us by Captain Denman, whose exertions are entitled to universal thanks, and whose suggestion is founded upon his local experience of the coast of Africa—that, without increasing our force, we may act much more efficaciously for the suppression of the slave-trade than we are doing at present. What he proposes is, to establish a blockade of the whole of that part of the western coast of Africa from which slaves can be taken, in order that a constant guard be kept upon that coast. He and the neighbouring authorities gave it as their opinion that, by withdrawing from the coast of Brazil and the West Indies a considerable portion of the force now employed there, and stationing it on the coast of Africa, by having steamers at the mouths of rivers, and by visiting every part of the six hundred miles of coast—their opinion, and my confident belief, is, that by this course we shall be more successful in suppressing the slave-trade, and preventing the evils and horrors of the passage, than by any course that has hitherto been tried. That experiment we are about to try; and God grant it may succeed. I trust the House of Commons will be influenced by higher and more honourable feelings than those expressed by the honourable member for Durham. There was a time when persons of that honourable gentleman's persuasion (loud cheers)—for the honour of the persuasion I say it (cheers)—when the members of that persuasion would not have uttered such sentiments (cheers). Nay, I am perfectly certain that there was a time when they would to a man have disclaimed such a doctrine.

It was said, there was no guarantee that Brazil would act on ministers' suggestions, without perpetual interference.

I think I can suggest a mode by which much may be done towards the ultimate extinction of slavery. Suppose Brazil consented that after a certain day all children of African negroes born in Brazil should be free; suppose they consented that some means should be taken—by a mixed commission, for instance—for the purpose of insuring the enjoyment of that privilege to those actually so born; or suppose the commercial privileges granted by us depended on their adherence to this regulation; supposing these things, it is surely not impossible to conceive modes which might lead to the extinction of slavery, without that constant, perpetual, and vexatious interference with the domestic legislation of another country, which I fully admit is open to great objection.

Sir Robert finished by again calling upon the House not to take from ministers that control which they ought to have in treating with other countries.

Lord PALMERSTON defended Mr Bright from the unfair construction which had been placed on his sentiments by Sir R. Peel. Ministers had now shifted their ground; it was no longer slavery, but the slave trade. Was this a foreshadowing of some further relaxation in favour of our commerce? Criticising the character of the negotiations with Brazil, and the nature of the arguments by which the exclusion of its sugar is maintained, he contended that all resolved itself into the support of the West India monopoly. The government, with its free-trade maxims, fell back on the monopolists, by whom they were borne into office. Sir Robert Peel objected to the motion, that it purported to refer to Brazil alone; if he preferred to substitute for Brazil "all other countries," no doubt Mr Labouchere and his side of the house would assent to the amendment [laughter and cheers].

The House divided about one o'clock. For the motion, 132; against, 205; ministerial majority, 73.

Friday, March 8th.

REDUCTION OF THREE AND A HALF PER CENTS.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in conformity with a notice he had given on Wednesday night, brought under the notice of a committee of the whole House the intention of government with respect to the three-and-a-half per cents. The measure, he said, which he was about to propose would tend to raise the character and power of this country by exhibiting the extent of her resources and the constancy of her public faith. He was about to ask of the House to deal with the largest sum for which any government had ever been called on to propose a regulation, being no less than £250,000,000 of money. There had long been a general opinion that the time was approaching when it would be the duty of the government to reduce the interest on this debt. Never was there a period when capital seeking investment was so plentiful, and the rate of interest so low, as at present; and there was nothing in the circumstances of the times which gave any reason to expect that this state of things would soon pass away. The condition of the public finances, too, was favourable to the proposed object; for, thanks to the firmness of the House of Commons, the revenue now once more exceeded the expenditure. He specified the successive creations and amounts of the different stocks bearing 3½ per cent. interest, and noticed the past reductions in them. He had not thought it right, though these stocks had been separately constituted, to deal with them separately, but proposed to treat them all upon one level, except the stock constituted in 1818, which had been accompanied at its birth with some peculiar protections. On different occasions, when redemptions had been proposed, different inducements had been held out to stockholders, each of which had its advantages. His duty was, as agent for the public, the debtors, to obtain the best terms that could be had for them consistently with justice to the creditor. He was not disposed to purchase an immediate relief by increasing the burdens of succeeding times. He had, therefore, rejected the idea of lowering the present interest by augmenting the capital of the debt. He then at some length explained the government plan:—

Then, Sir, the other plan remains to be considered—that of reducing the three-and-a-half per cents through the medium of a 3½ per cent. stock. The result of that arrangement would undoubtedly be at first a diminished annual saving to the public; but, on the other hand, there would not be any increase to the capital of the debt; and there would be, moreover, this additional ad-

vantage—that there will be a further reduction of the duty, which will, in due time, give increased advantages in point of annual income, which will be so much the more valuable, because, although it may not at first apply so immediately to the resources of the country, the country will receive the full value of the whole reduction, without any countervailing excess. The plan, therefore, Sir, which I propose to the House will be, that every holder of three-and-a-half per cent. stock shall receive a like amount in three-and-a-quarter per cent. stock, on which interest at the rate of 3*1/2* per cent. per annum shall be paid till the 10th of October, 1854, thus giving ten years during which the 3*1/2* per cent. shall be payable. And I further propose, that from and after the 10th of October, 1854, the interest to be paid shall be at the rate of 3 per cent. only, and that this stock so being at 3 per cent. shall be guaranteed against further reduction for 20 years after that period. The stock will remain, therefore, at 3*1/2* per cent. till October, 1854; it will then remain at 3 per cent. till 1874, whatever may in the mean time be the improvement in the money-market, or whatever reductions may be applied to other portions of the national debt. [The right hon. gentleman's proposition was received apparently with general satisfaction. There was a buzz of conversation among the members, and several at once left the house. After a short pause the right hon. gentleman went on.] I can hardly expect, Sir, to retain the attention of the House now [a laugh]. The arrangement will be carried out in the way adopted with regard to such arrangements before, by allowing all persons a limited term to dissent from the propositions which have been offered. With respect to that branch of the three-and-a-half per cent. stock which originated in 1818, the proceeding will be different. I shall call on the House to resolve that that stock shall be paid off at the time at which it is legally liable to be paid off, unless the parties should consent before that time to accept the terms offered. And in both cases a period will be fixed on similar to that which has been fixed on in analogous cases of reduction. The time allowed for dissent to the terms, as regards the holders of the three greater branches of the stock, will be up to the 23rd of March, 1844; in Europe, to the 2nd of June, 1844; and out of Europe, to the 1st of February, 1845. Under this arrangement, sir, should I succeed in carrying it into effect, the immediate saving to the public from the 10th of October next will be the sum of £650,000 a year; and in 1854, when the second operation comes into effect, the public will derive a further benefit to the extent of £650,000; making the total saving £1,250,000 a year from the year 1854 [hear, hear].

After explaining that the reduced stock is to be henceforth amalgamated, and the annual interest to be paid in future in April and October, by which an equalisation will be effected in the amount of dividends payable at the four quarterly periods of the year, thus keeping the money market from unequal pressure, Mr Goulburn concluded by calling on the House to approve of his plan, the success of which would materially enhance the credit and character of this country.

Mr FRANCIS BARING praised the plan as honest, and wished it hearty success.

Sir JOHN RAY REID said that, though accused of being a sanguine man, he could not help saying that he saw the bright star of hope leading us on.

Various other members, on both sides of the house, having expressed their approval of the plan, the resolutions were unanimously passed.

BUENOS AIRES AND MONTE VIDEO.

On the proposition for going into committee of supply,

Mr EWART brought under the consideration of the House the importance of our commercial relations with the River Plate, especially with reference to the war now raging between the states of Buenos Ayres and Monte Video.

Sir ROBERT PEEL entered into some explanations, and expressed a hope, derived from recent accounts, that peace would soon be restored. It was more a contest of facts than of states; and if the British minister and naval commander had exceeded their instructions, it was from disgust at the sanguinary scenes which they witnessed, and which they were anxious to see terminated. France, Brazil, and this country had ineffectually endeavoured to put an end to the war, which, however, there was reason to hope would soon be concluded.

REDRESS OF GRIEVANCES.

The question having been put that the Speaker should leave the chair to go into committee of supply,

Mr S. CRAWFORD rose and said that he was anxious to address to the House a few words in explanation of his present intentions. He had persevered in endeavouring to induce the House to go into a consideration of the grievances of the people before voting away the people's money. He had failed in his attempt to induce them to take that course, and he now relinquished his design, wishing it, however, to be clearly understood that in so doing he entered a solemn protest against the competency of the House to make laws or impose taxes so long as the great body of the people were unrepresented. He wished it to be understood, too, that he held himself perfectly and entirely free, whenever the public voice might justify such a proceeding, to take every opportunity which the forms of the House might allow to stop the voting of the supplies, and to interrupt them in giving away the monies of the people, who had no voice in that assembly. He held himself free to take that course, and having entered thus his protest, he would not detain them further ("Hear, hear," from Mr W. Williams).

SUPPLY.

The House then went into committee, concluding the army estimates. The various votes were agreed to almost without discussion, and in a thin House. On the vote for £124,610 for pensions to officers' widows, Lord Howick called attention to the case of the widow of Lieut.-col. Fawcett, from whom a pension had been withheld on account of the part her husband took in the duel with Lieut. Munro, and inquired whether the Horse Guards contem-

plated any alteration in the law with regard to duelling in the army. Sir H. HARDINGE admitted that he had sanctioned the withholding the pension from the widow of Col. Fawcett, but deprecated any discussion of the subject then, as it would be brought under the consideration of the House on Monday. The military authorities had it in contemplation to make some arrangements on the subject of duelling in the army, but any statement on the subject at that moment would be premature and injudicious.

The ordnance estimates were then brought on by Capt. Boldero, who went over the various items, and announced a gross reduction of £9000 as compared with last year. The several votes were then agreed to.

Monday, March 11th.

DUELING IN THE ARMY.

On the bringing up the report on the committee of supply,

Captain BERNAL moved for a copy of any letter or correspondence which has passed between the Secretary at War and the widow of the late Lieutenant-colonel David Lynar Fawcett, C.B., relative to the withholding of her pension. He alluded to the utter dead-letterism of the article of war prohibiting duelling; pithily reminded the House of the terms and nature of the challenge sent by the Duke of Wellington to the Earl of Winchilsea, which was conveyed by Sir Henry Hardinge; and stated that, if Lieutenant-colonel Fawcett had sold his commission one week before his death, his widow would have had £3,200 at her disposal. Mr Attorney-general Smith had made a manly apology, and was not debarred from legal promotion; and he appealed to the House, amid general cheers from both sides, that Mrs Fawcett should not be the first victim of a rigid application of the rule.

Sir HENRY HARDINGE explained that there were special circumstances in the case of Lieutenant-colonel Fawcett, which brought it within what was the general rule and practice of the War office. The near relationship of the parties rendered this unfortunate duel one of those in which precedent ruled the refusal of the pension: there were no palliating circumstances which could mitigate censure on the conduct of brothers-in-law, who hastily rushed out to shoot one another, on account of differences which might have been settled easily in another manner; and the government, though anxious to manifest their respect for the memory of a gallant officer, by giving the most favourable construction to the claims of Mrs Fawcett, were yet of opinion that they could not consistently grant the pension. He had received her Majesty's sanction for an amendment of the articles of war relating to duelling, and he read the terms of the contemplated alterations, which are to take effect during the present year. The purport of them is to subject all officers to the penalty of being cashiered who, being concerned with, or privy to, a duel, shall not take steps to stop the proceedings, or bring the parties to an honourable reconciliation. Even seconds to a duel, whose strenuous efforts at reconciliation may have failed, are to be subjected to minor punishment, at the discretion of a court martial.

The new regulations, he thought, would tend to check the practice of duelling, which was already greatly on the decline in the army, as compared with former years; but these amended articles are not to apply to half-pay officers, for he would not be a party to any restraint being laid on military men, in private life, to which other gentlemen were not subjected.

Mr THOMAS DUNCOMBE read a statement by Lieutenant Munro, in which he alleged circumstances in order to show that he had strenuously laboured to avoid the unhappy alternative of meeting his relative, for whose death he expressed the deepest contrition. But he had been driven into it by the imperious calls of that barbarous code of which his superior officers were amongst the most determined supporters. If we wished to put an effectual stop to these proceedings, we must go a step further, and include half-pay officers within the operation of the new regulations.

Sir CHARLES NAPIER expressed an opinion that the proposed new articles of war would be ineffectual. Seconds to a duel ought to be made as amenable as principals; and "good shots" in pistol practice, an accomplishment not absolutely essential in the army, should be rendered peculiarly liable to punishment. But in making new laws against duelling, he would not look exclusively to the army. Civilians ought to be controlled as much as military men; and he would punish them all for duelling, from the first lord of the treasury downwards. But nothing would so effectually stop the practice as a regulation prescribing firing across a table, one pistol being shotted, and the other loaded with a blank cartridge; we might thus let the one duelist be shot, and then hang the other.

After a few words from Colonel Wood (Middlesex),

Lord PALMERSTON thought that as Colonel Fawcett was the challenged and not the challenger in this unhappy transaction, his widow might have been favourably considered at the Horse Guards, unless there were circumstances privately known to them, which precluded it. But after all, seconds in a duel, acting as they did, with the honour of the principals in their hands, ought to be charged with serious responsibility. As to the new articles of war, if they were not enforced more stringently than the existing ones, which were sufficiently rigid, he feared that little would be done to check the practice of duelling.

Sir ROBERT PEEL briefly adverted to the circumstances in which the duel originated. Colonel Fawcett had grossly insulted his relative, turning him out of his house, in presence of servants; he had selected for his second a very young man, inferior to

him in years, rank, and experience, and who could not be supposed to exercise any influence over the mind of his principal; and all these circumstances justified the government in the course which they had adopted, and which was intended to mark a decided disapprobation of such transactions. As to Lieutenant Munro, he had allowed two sessions to pass over without submitting to an inquiry into his conduct before a legal tribunal, and was therefore properly visited with supercession. The new articles of war were calculated to prevent the recurrence of similar scenes; and he hoped that they would receive general approbation, as tending more effectually to the repression of duelling.

Mr R. BERNAL wished for a general rule that in no case of duel would any pension be granted to a widow. He spoke at large upon the merits of the parties to the late meeting.

Lord HOWICK thought there could be no good reason for withholding this pension except the general purpose of discouraging duels; but if this were intended more ought to be done. In this very discussion the principle of duelling was not fitly condemned; the condemnation was applied only to this particular duel.

Lord C. FITZROY was favourable to Captain Bernal's motion.

Mr COWPER expressly declared that on religious grounds he would refuse to fight a duel, considering the practice condemned by the law of God as well as of man, and not to be justified under any circumstances whatever. There was precedent in the history of the army (as a case which occurred in 1783) for giving facilities for constituting a court of honour, to which all inquiry might be delegated, and which would take upon itself adjudication with respect to personal quarrels.

Sir R. H. INGLIS paid a compliment to Mr Cowper, whose declaration he had heard with great pleasure. But he complained that Sir James Graham, when waited upon by himself and others, as a deputation, with a memorial to her Majesty, praying that the government would take some measures for the more effectual disowning of duelling, had returned a cold official answer.

Mr W. O. STANLEY, Mr TURNER, and Lord R. GROSVENOR then briefly addressed the House.

Mr BROTHERTON said, that the practice, having been upheld by public opinion, must be put down by act of parliament. But carry out your reasoning, and you would find that the same principle which forbids duelling forbids war. Meanwhile, those who fought duels ought to be discouraged by the higher authorities.

Captain BERNAL then withdrew his motion.

MISCELLANEOUS.

FRENCH TREATY OF COMMERCE.—Sir R. Peel, on Thursday, in answer to Mr Labouchere, said he could not hold out any hope of any reduction of duties by France in favour of this country, as the result of actual stipulation or formal treaty.

ATHLONE ELECTION COMMITTEE.—The counsel for the petitioners in this case were on Thursday afternoon obliged to abandon it as hopeless, and Mr Collet was accordingly declared duly elected.

RAILWAYS.—On Friday Mr Hindley moved a resolution that any member whose constituents were locally interested might sit upon a railway committee, but without voting. After a brief discussion, however, the motion was withdrawn.

PENSION TO THE FAMILY OF DR MORRISON.—Sir George Staunton is to move, on the 21st inst., an address to her Majesty, praying her to confer a pension on the widow of Dr Morrison and the surviving members of his family.

PEACE PRINCIPLES.—On Monday evening Mr Hindley presented 40 petitions from the peace societies in several towns in England, Ireland, and Scotland, against any increase in the war establishment of the country.

LAW OF CONSPIRACY.—Mr O'Connell gave notice that on an early day after the recess he would move for leave to bring in a bill to define the law of conspiracy. Also for leave to bring in a bill to repeal the several statutes and laws relating to landlords and tenants, passed since the union, with the object of abolishing the power of levying under a distress for rent for a less amount than £20, except in cases where there is a lease of twenty-one years.

INCLOSURE OF COMMONS.—Mr Sharman Crawford gave notice that on the second reading of the Commons Inclosure bill, he would move that the bill be read a second time on that day six months.

ROMAN CATHOLIC CHARITIES.—Mr O'Connell moved for leave to bring in a bill for amending the law respecting Roman catholic charities and places of worship in Ireland. His objects were to obviate the necessity of expensive applications to courts of equity, and facilitate the establishment of residences for parish priests, and with these views to give a regular succession to the Roman catholic hierarchy for the purpose of their taking grants of land. After a few words from Mr Shaw, and on an understanding that no member, by his acquiescence at this stage of the measure, should be considered as committing himself to the approval of it, leave was given to bring in the bill.

TOBACCO.—Mr Hume moved for a select committee to inquire into the present state of the law relating to the tobacco trade, and the best mode of checking smuggling in the article. After a few remarks from the Chancellor of the Exchequer and Mr F. Baring, the motion was acceded to.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, March 7th.

The LORD CHANCELLOR introduced a bill to relieve dissenters from certain hardships in respect of their

chapels and burial-grounds; the precise objects of the measure to be explained on the second reading.

Friday, March 8th.

PRIVY COUNCIL APPELLATIVE JURISDICTION ACT
AMENDMENT BILL.

Lord BROUHAM moved the second reading of his bill to amend the appellate jurisdiction of the privy council. He commenced by explaining the constitution of the Judicial Committee, and described the extraordinary variety of subjects which were submitted for its decision. The Admiralty, the Ecclesiastical court, the Equity courts, and all the courts of India, sent appeals from their judgments to be heard by the privy council. The bill was intended to render the court complete, by the addition, as permanent members, of a president and two puisne judges, so that it should not, as at present, be dependent on the gratuitous assistance of Lord Campbell and Mr Pemberton Leigh. It proposed, also, that in the privy council should be vested the power of deciding upon applications for divorce *a vinculo matrimonii*; and the noble lord enlarged with much force upon the injustice of the existing system, and its practical denial of redress to all who were not sufficiently wealthy to defray the enormous expense of a divorce bill.

The LORD CHANCELLOR expressed a modified approbation of the bill, and recommended that it should be sent for the consideration of a committee; suggesting, however, that their lordships should not lightly part with any portion of their judicial functions.

Lord COTTERHAM admitted that the law of divorce was a proper subject for inquiry, but doubted whether the proposed measure would remedy the great expense of proceedings, which was the principal evil complained of. He disapproved the proposal for increasing the number of judges: the necessity of there being a permanent president of the court could not, indeed, be disputed; but it would be easy so to arrange the business of the Chancery courts that the Master of the Rolls might act in that capacity, and no delay had ever occurred from the want of sufficient members to constitute a court. There was not, in fact, a single case in arrear. The tribunal without alteration had worked well; and as it was a matter of principle, not of detail, he thought it would be a bad precedent to refer such a subject to a committee.

Lord CAMPBELL objected to the present law of divorce, but objected almost equally to the proposed plan for its amendment. He did not oppose the second reading of the bill, but trusted that it would be materially altered in its next stage.

The Bishop of EXETER would have preferred to curtail the powers of the judicial committee, instead of increasing them, and complained that to it had been transferred the ultimate decision even in matters connected with the very doctrines of the church. An appeal even from a charge of heresy would go to the privy council. Whatever satisfaction the court might have given to the country generally, it had inspired no feeling of confidence in the church; and he thought it unjust that there should be no tribunal on whose sufficiency the church might entirely rely. On several other grounds he objected to the bill, but especially that it would give to the judicial committee a power which no other court possessed—that of deciding without appeal upon a case originating in itself.

Lord BROUHAM defended both his bill and the court whose jurisdiction it was intended to amend; and after some further conversation, it was read a second time, upon the understanding that it should be referred to a select committee.

Monday, March 11th.

The Earl of RADNOR presented the Somerset county meeting petition in favour of free trade. Some discussion arose, in the course of which Lord PORTMAN denied that the meeting was a fair criterion of the feelings of the people of the county of Somerset; and the Duke of WELLINGTON expressed a decided opinion that it would be very injudicious to interfere with the present corn-law.

Lord BROUHAM, in moving the reference to a select committee of his Privy Council Appellate Jurisdiction bill, made a pointed reference to the remarks which it has drawn forth, especially characterising the charge, that he was carving out a place for himself, as a slander invented by Malice, and her bastard sister Falsehood. He had already three times refused such an appointment.

Lord WHARNCLIFFE, in reply to Lord Brougham, said, that the new houses of parliament might be rendered capable of accommodating their lordships by the next session of parliament, if the House of Commons would go to the expense of temporary fittings. It was impossible to have the house ready in a permanent state at so early a period.

The Bishop of PETERBOROUGH, in reply to Lord LILBORD, said, that under the Church Discipline act he had no power of interfering in the case of Mr Herbert Marsh, as the act restricted his jurisdiction to two years, and the immorality complained of had occurred four years ago. The individual, however, who had caused this scandal, had not officiated for a long time past, his duties having been performed by a curate.

SELECTION TO THE ENGLISH THRONE.—Since the Conquest fourteen English sovereigns have been succeeded by sons, one by a son-in-law and by sisters, one by a nephew, one by a niece, one by a daughter; two by grandsons, four by brothers, three by an uncle, and six by cousins; and there were five kings between Elizabeth and Anne, and the same number between Anne and Victoria.

The Complete Suffrage Movement.

Birmingham, March 11th.

The Council of the National Complete Suffrage Union met to-day, at their office, 37, Waterloo street—the President in the chair.

Letters were read from various quarters.

THE SUPPLY MOVEMENT—LETTER FROM MR W. S.

CRAWFORD, M.P.

Mr Sturge stated that he had just received a letter from Mr W. S. Crawford, to the unenfranchised, to the following effect:—

TO THE UNENFRANCHISED PEOPLE OF
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

MY FRIENDS—On five different occasions, since the commencement of the parliamentary session, I moved amendments on the supplies, asserting the constitutional principle, "that you ought not to be taxed without being represented." What was the result? I divided the House with declining minorities each time. I began with twenty-nine English members, which on the fifth division were reduced to eight, and, of these eight members, only five had voted in all the divisions. My wish would have been to have made an effective stand on the items of the army estimates; but, in communicating with these five members who had steadily voted with me, I found their opinion was that the public voice had not sufficiently sanctioned the proceeding to warrant the making use of the forms of the house to assert a determined resistance against so great a majority. I could not then take on myself the responsibility of carrying on a contest to which I had no pledge of even the smallest support, especially when I found that some members who had been long considered as pre-eminently representing popular opinion, and others, elected by popular constituencies, were either avowedly hostile, or, by repudiating the principle of the movement I contended for, gave what may be called only a damaging support; but perhaps the greatest evil of all was the disunion among the people manifested at two public meetings in London. Such a system of action as that which I proposed could only be sustained by the energetic and united impulse of the public mind, manifested in every way, by meetings and petitions, in which that mind could be declared, supporting your honest representatives and dragging on the wavering ones in their efforts for your service; but if the people be disunited or inactive, their friends are paralysed—their enemies triumph.

The voice that attempts to advocate the people's rights in the present House of Commons, must fall in dead and pointless accents, unless it be the emanation of public enthusiasm.

I am perfectly satisfied that a power exists in a small minority, zealous and determined to act together, supported and stimulated by the energies of the people out of doors, to force any government to redress the people's wrongs, or else to drive the government which refuses to do so from the helm of the state. The power of the engine I attempted to raise into action has not been disputed or denied by any one. Union and energy alone are wanted on the part of the people to put their shoulders to the wheel. Although most honourable efforts have been made in some localities to give me an effective support, the great mass of the non-represented have made no move. I am satisfied, also, that till such a move be made, any attempt to stem the power of class legislation is futile.

The navy and army estimates having been voted with, I believe I may say, unprecedented rapidity, it appears that any movement on the part of the people is now too late for this session. After these supplies have been voted, and the power of coercing the nation by military force thus established, any contest on the succeeding estimates is not worthy of consideration. In the mean time I have placed on record, in various forms, the principle I contended for. I have charged the present House of Commons, on the part of the people, in the words of the petitions which that House has received and laid on its table, that they are not entitled to the appointment of representatives of the people, and that, therefore, they have not a *constitutional* authority to tax or make laws for the people. I say a *constitutional* authority, because they possess an authority by the existing laws under which they are elected, which must be submitted to till these laws can be changed, and this change must not be attempted by violence—every such attempt must fail; and for this reason I have desired to bring into action the power of the constitution, and in my judgment any beneficial change can only be effected by such an impulse and such a course of proceeding as I have contended for.

I trust, my friends, you will consider that I have carried the advocacy of your rights to the utmost extent of the powers I possessed; and permit me to conclude with the following extract from the report of the words I used in my observations to the House on the last debate on this question—"He entered a solemn protest against the competency of the House to make laws or impose taxes so long as the great body of the people were unrepresented; he wished it to be understood, too, that he held himself perfectly and entirely free, whenever the public voice might justify such a proceeding, to take every opportunity which the forms of the House might allow to stop the voting of the supplies, and to interrupt them in giving away the monies of the people who had no voice in that assembly"—*Times*. Such were the sentiments I expressed in the House, and which I now declare to you.

Your faithful servant,

WM SHARMAN CRAWFORD.

London, March 9, 1844.

Mr Sturge said he sympathised very much with the feelings which his friend William Sharman Crawford had expressed on this important subject; but, at the same time, he thought he was scarcely fully aware of the amount of public support which the supply movement had received. The document he held in his hand showed that a very large amount of support had been called forth in its favour, considering the short time it had been applied.

In these circumstances, and notwithstanding the small support it had received in the House, there was every encouragement to go on. If once the subject was fully understood by the public, it would meet with general support—as the more it was known the better it was appreciated. It was a most encouraging fact that at one of the largest town's

meetings ever held in England (the meeting in the Town hall on the 6th), the plan was unanimously adopted, and met with the cordial concurrence of Daniel O'Connell, the representative of the people of Ireland. If the movement be steadily persevered with, the time would come when the whole country would support it. He regretted, with his friend William Crawford, the damage which had been done to the cause by the two meetings to which he referred; but the facts in connexion with those meetings were now well known, and it was not to be denied that the disturbance had been created by a small but organised faction. Tickets, it was admitted, had been distributed gratis, and in a city like London, where there were two millions of inhabitants, a number of men could be brought together for any purpose. In as far as the country had spoken out, the case was very different—for it was a striking circumstance that wherever the supply movement was made known it was approved. Even at Leeds, where the chartists had defeated a town's meeting, the principle was affirmed. Altogether, the present position and prospects of the movement were encouraging, and it was peculiarly gratifying to find that a spirit of union for practical purposes was now manifesting itself in the three kingdoms.

Mr STURGE then noticed, in terms of the warmest congratulation, the town's meeting held on Wednesday, at which not fewer than eight thousand persons were present, and called the attention of the Council to the second resolution passed on that occasion, which concluded as follows:—

"That the only guarantee for the attainment and protection of perfect civil and religious liberty is to be found in a full, fair and free, representation of the people, and this will be effectually obtained by the friends of the people in parliament enforcing the ancient constitutional principle that redress of grievances should precede the voting of supplies."

The Council, in reference to this, resolved:—

"That the adoption of this resolution by a meeting called to consider 'what steps should be taken to protect the constitutional liberties of the British people,' and with the express approval of Daniel O'Connell, M.P., the representative of the people of Ireland, affords a most gratifying proof of a growing disposition in the public mind cordially to unite on the broad ground that the only security for our liberties is to be found in the full, fair, and free representation of the people; and that the best means of obtaining that security is by the practical enforcement of the constitutional principle that redress of grievances should precede the voting of supplies."

Mr ALBRIGHT called attention to the very able leading article on the supply question in last week's *Wesleyan Chronicle*. Nowhere had he seen a more hearty, honest, and intelligent appreciation of the merits of the case. It was really quite refreshing to turn from the namby-pamby trash with which certain whig-radical M.P.s had endeavoured to blind the eyes of their constituents, and the paltry excuses on which they shirked the fulfilment of duties they were bound to discharge, and then take up this article, the leading one in a newspaper circulating among, and supported by, a body of religionists supposed to be unmindful of, if not recreant to, the cause of popular liberty, and mark the thorough, uncompromising, and fearless spirit of reform which it displayed. He thought it might be worth while to consider whether at some future time it would not make a good tract. It was some consolation to find that, while mere politicians, even those who were generally regarded as honest, shrank from an adherence to this mode of parliamentary action, it had received the warm support of three of the religious papers—the *Nonconformist*, the *Patriot*, and the *Wesleyan Chronicle*.

Mr PUMPHRY concurred in the suggestion about using the article as a tract, and thought it might be very useful among the *Wesleyans*.

The treasurer and secretary were appointed a sub-committee to draw up an address on the present position and prospects of the suffrage movement.

LIVERPOOL.—On Friday evening the Rev. Thomas Spencer, perpetual incumbent of Hinton Charterhouse, near Bath, delivered the second of his two very admirable lectures on the principles on which complete suffrage is sought by the non-electors of the kingdom. The meeting to hear the lecture was held, as before, at the Commercial hall, Gloucester street, and on this occasion Mr John Smith was called upon to preside. The Rev. Mr Spencer then gave a most interesting lecture on what are termed the six points requisite to complete suffrage, showing that they were not six distinct objects, but only that number of practical details in the one great claim for full, fair, and free representation of the people in parliament. We never listened to clearer and more dispassionate reasoning—it was logical and convincing as a series of mathematical demonstrations, expressed in a truly constitutional manner, and illustrated by many beautiful moral axioms and scriptural allusions. The audience was highly gratified; and a petition was agreed upon to the Queen, praying her Majesty to carry into effect her recent most acceptable declaration, in which she said, "It is at all times my most anxious desire that any grievances of which my people justly complain should be speedily redressed." On this basis the claim of representation was urged. A most cordial vote of thanks was passed, with rapturous applause, to the distinguished clergyman who had conveyed so much solid instruction to his countrymen, and the meeting separated, highly delighted with the proceedings.—*Liverpool Mercury*.

GALASHIELS.—On the 29th ultimo, a public meeting of the inhabitants was held in the Relief chapel, to aid Mr Sharman Crawford in his efforts in the House of Commons, to stop the supplies, until the grievances of the nation be redressed. Mr A. Johnston was called to the chair. Mr William Sander-son, shoemaker, moved the adoption of a petition to

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"W. G." Mechanical difficulties prevent our adoption of his proposed plan.
 "A. L." We may take an early opportunity of noticing the article to which he adverts.
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Orders for the *Nonconformist* are received at the office, and by all booksellers and newsvendors. The terms of subscription, if paid in advance, are £1 6s. per annum. All communications for the Editor should be addressed to the office, No. 4, Crane court, Fleet street.

The Nonconformist.

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, MARCH 13, 1844.

SUMMARY.

NOTHING can exceed the cool determination with which the House of monopoly-nominees proceeds in the business to which it is pledged. The estimates—navy, army, and ordnance—have been got through with unprecedented despatch. Ministers, despite the member for Rochdale's repeated protests, have now, virtually, in their hands the wherewithal for another year. He who now expects from them any but the most trifling and incidental concessions to the popular will, must first allow a sanguine temperament to put out the eyes of his understanding. To what force are they to yield? for surely none can imagine that they will give aught worth receiving, except upon compulsion. They see within parliament a manifest indisposition, even on the part of the *real* representatives of the people, to deal with them in earnest, or to drive them to extremities. Their allies out of doors—we may perhaps more correctly say, their tools—prompted by O'Connor, and backed by Mr Duncombe, have created a sufficient appearance of division to prevent any general development of public feeling. The middle classes, regarded as a whole, are imbued with too childish a reverence for aristocracy to allow of reducing them to straits by withholding the supplies which fatten them. Our rulers have now as many soldiers as they want—they have the money wherewith to maintain them—they have a pledged majority of landed nominees at their back—they have a House of Lords with them, almost to a man—O'Connell is in their power—Cobden does not intimidate them—an "agricultural protection society" has risen up to their assistance. Why, then, should they give way? What should induce them to guide future legislation into channels beneficial to the country? They cannot do so without, in most cases, cutting right athwart their own class interests. They are not likely to become volunteers in that philanthropy which costs them anything. And so, we must content ourselves as best we may, until people grow somewhat wiser—never ceasing meanwhile, however, our exertions to enlighten them. The day and the hour for deliverance are not yet within sight, but *nil desperandum* must continue to be the watchword of every patriot.

The House of Commons was engaged on Thursday evening with Mr Labouchere's motion on our trade with Brazil. The discussion was not a lively one, although it abounded in figures. Mr Labouchere, Mr Milner Gibson, Mr Bright, and Lord Palmerston, were the principal assailants of the sugar monopoly—Mr Gladstone, and Sir Robert Peel, its chief supporters. Concern for the discouragement of slavery was pleaded, by men who, until recently, have been its most strenuous supporters, as a sufficient reason for closing this market to our manufacturers, and thereby aggravating the already cruel distress of our labouring population. Unfortunately, in our judgment, hypocrisy could, in this instance, avail itself of the protest of unquestionable sincerity—and Mr Gladstone, of slave-holding notoriety, could quote, in his defence, a memorial from the Anti-slavery committee. We regret this. We cannot see what right men have to determine that British artisans shall pine at home, lest Brazilian slaves should be ill-treated abroad. But we are bound to confess, that if ministers would adopt the whole counsel of the Anti-slavery Society, instead of just so much of it only as suits their purpose, they would do much more to benefit all parties—save, indeed, the monopolist—than they seem at present to intend. If they will not admit slave-grown sugar into the British market, except under the pressure of a high discriminating duty, why should they exclude the produce of foreign free labour? The very authority which they were so anxious to quote, convicted them of hollowness—and proved that the interest they really feel is, not for the suppression of slavery, but for the maintenance of the West India monopoly. Mr Gladstone, in opposing Mr Labouchere's motion, endeavoured to conceal

the financial intentions of ministers until April, the proper time for their development—but the tone both of the president of the board of trade and of the premier, proved that the sugar duties will not be dealt with during the present year. Mr Bright's speech was vigorous, and contained some home thrusts—in consequence of which it seemed to be very slightly relished by the bench of nominees. The division showed a majority of 73 in favour of the ministerial policy.

Friday evening presented the rare spectacle of an oasis in the desert. Minor topics having been disposed of, and several questions put and answered, the Chancellor of the Exchequer brought forward his plan for the reduction of the three-and-a-half per cents. The debt which receives this interest amounts to nearly £250,000,000, and consists of four kinds of stock. It is not necessary for us to describe them. The general plan is to give every holder of three-and-a-half per cent. stock, a like amount of stock at three-and-a-quarter per cent., which rate of interest is to be paid for ten years. The other quarter per cent. will then be struck off, with a guarantee against any further reduction for the next twenty years. Dissentients from this arrangement are, of course, to be paid off. The details will be found in Mr Goulburn's speech. If he should succeed in carrying his plan into effect, the annual saving to the country will be, during the next ten years, £650,000, and from 1854 £1,250,000. We shall not affect to depreciate this monetary triumph, however we may deplore the plethora of capital which has rendered it feasible. It is undoubtedly a considerable gain. The House of Commons resounded with compliments and congratulations—and for once, there was really cause for rejoicing. The landlords are not deeply interested in the state of the funds—and no legislative barrier exists to prevent the conversion of three-and-a-half, into three per cent. stock.

No other topic of interest has been mooted in the House of Commons during the past week, but that of dueling. In discussing the army estimates, the case of the widow of the late Lieut-colonel Fawcett, who has been refused the customary pension by government, has been twice brought forward, and the subject of dueling has each time been discussed. We cannot say that we are satisfied with the tone adopted by the principal speakers in reference to this crime. It is, nevertheless, encouraging to observe that the barbarous practice is falling into disrepute, and that even they who feel bound to resort to it, goaded on by the artificial laws of aristocratic society, are compelled by the progress of enlightened feeling and public opinion to express their condemnation of it. The debates were unusually interesting, and the announcement made by Sir Henry Hardinge, that measures are being taken at the Horse Guards to discourage this practice in the army, inadequate as they may be, will be received with lively pleasure by the larger portion of her Majesty's subjects.

Lord Brougham is at work—and, if we may credit the *Morning Chronicle* and the *Examiner*, his object is to create an office for himself. We are compelled to confess that appearances run in that direction—but are loath to think so meanly of the man whom whig partisanship has, before this, most vilely traduced. On Friday evening, the ex-Chancellor brought in a bill to amend the Privy Council Appellate Jurisdiction bill. The gist of the proposed measure will be found in the following provision—"That it shall be lawful for her Majesty

* * * to appoint any person, being a barrister of twenty years' standing, * * * such person being also a member of her Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, president in such committee in the absence of the president of the council, who shall have rank next after the said president, and after the Lord Privy seal, in all courts or places, and receive a salary of £2,000 a-year, over and above any pension which he may have as a judge, &c., &c." The preamble of the bill states that the act now in force is found to work well—a return recently made to parliament proves that there are no cases in arrear. Why a fresh office should, under such circumstances, be created, and fresh expense incurred, save to find an honourable retreat for Lord Brougham, does not appear—but we suppose the matter will be inquired into, for Lord Brougham has bitter foes in both houses—and probably some plausible if not sufficient reasons will be discovered. Government has allowed the bill to be introduced.

The tidings from India, brought by the overland mail, which reached this country on Thursday last, are peculiarly distressing. Two separate battles have been fought in Gwalior, the principal one at Maharajpoor, the other at Punniar. The Anglo-Indian army, amounting to 14,000 strong, with forty pieces of artillery, under the command of Sir Hugh Gough, encountered, on the 29th of December last, the Mahratta force, consisting of 15,000 infantry, 3,000 cavalry, and 100 guns. The loss on both sides was severe, amounting, in the whole, to nearly 5,000 lives. The fort of Gwalior was surrendered, and the leading chiefs tendered their submission. A new treaty has been signed. The British troops have been withdrawn, and the

Governor-general has taken his departure for Calcutta. We have commented upon this event in another place. The details of news will be found in those columns of our paper usually devoted to foreign affairs.

As a contrast to this sanguinary movement we turn attention to the reception of Daniel O'Connell at Birmingham. At one of the largest town meetings ever held in this empire the reception of the Liberator was beyond description enthusiastic. The tone of his speech indicated the grateful impression which the sympathy of the English people, now most unequivocally expressed, has produced upon his mind. We augur well from the return of good feeling between the oppressed of both nations. We trust it will be the commencement of a union more intimate and lasting than any act of parliament could effect. The phrase "Justice to Ireland" may properly be enlarged, and may take the form of "Justice to the people of the three kingdoms." They are overborne by a common foe—they have interests in common with each other—and truth, as well as policy, requires that they unite in one common cause.

Other matters are of minor importance. The stir respecting the presbyterian marriage question in Ireland—the free-trade meeting of tenant farmers at Harleston—the League gatherings at Covent Garden, Manchester, Preston, and elsewhere—and the wrath of the *Morning Herald* at the proposed Anti-state-church conference—may be mentioned as worthy of the notice of our readers. They all indicate the progress of opinion in the right direction.

THE FLAG STRUCK.

THE movement for obstructing the supplies is, for this session at least, at an end. The member for Rochdale, whose moral courage must extort admiration even from his foes, has retired from the contest which his own heroism had planned, and which, to maintain until now, in opposition to such tremendous odds, tasked to the uttermost his fidelity. Five times since the commencement of the present session he has stood—

"I th' imminent deadly breach," and on each successive occasion with fewer supporters than before. Triumph, we imagine, he did not expect—but if he has not accomplished all that his plan of warfare obviously contemplates, neither he nor his adherents have reason to regret the experiment. He has proved his own sincerity—no trifling achievement in these days of party suppleness. He has stripped to the skin more than one flaming patriot, and has thereby prevented the mischief which might hereafter arise from misplaced confidence in their professions. He has gauged the political pravity of the House of Commons, and, by a last unerring test, has proved them to be utterly wanting in that element of character the absence of which precludes any further appeal either to their wisdom or their fears. But above all, he has taught the people of this empire how, without resorting to violence, they may wrest their rights from a usurping oligarchy. This having done, he retires with dignity—a victor even in his defeat.

For ourselves, we are not disappointed. We had anticipated but little, and that little has been exceeded by the result. The plan is a good one—but, like all good plans, it wanted suitable agents to carry it into effect. The machinery is exquisite—but where is the motive power to make it work? We looked round for it, but we saw it not. Whilst the present House of Commons lasts, it will be impossible for us to expunge from our memory the mode of its election. Two clubs—the Carlton and the Reform—bid for well-nigh every constituency in the empire, and the highest bidder won the seat. Both parties resorted to corrupt and unconstitutional practices—the struggle of both was known to be a struggle for place and power. Patriotism, turned sick by whig infidelities, refused to interest itself in the conflict. There was no vital principle at issue. The reform cry, it is true, was for free trade—but it was indistinct, and was believed to be insincere. The existing parliament is the offspring of corruption and of disgust—the first, the active principle concerned in its generation—the last, the passive. The child shares the nature of both its parents—profligate, after the likeness of the one—stoically indifferent, after the image of the other. It is the embodiment of no single public idea—no national desire. If representative of anything popular, it is of that popular apathy which whig and radical treachery had too successfully produced. Hence, we have uniformly discouraged the hope that it could be made to answer the demands of the people. The vulgar maxim has always thrust itself upon our notice—"Men cannot wring blood out of a post." Of the men who compose the House of Commons we say nothing. Personally they may not fall below the average of society. *Quoad* their membership, however, they are in a position which all but precludes the exercise of political virtue. Party clubs elected them, and to party clubs they must needs bow. The influence they represent is essentially selfish and evil-minded—neither emanating from the

people, nor tending towards their welfare—and so long as such is the case—that is, so long as central clubs, of whatever party, nominate to parliamentary candidature, so long will public feeling be set at nought.

The comparatively slender support which has been given to the plan out of doors, however much to be regretted by its leading advocates, is yet susceptible, we think, of satisfactory explanation.

In the first place, it is a novelty, and, as such, has had to submit to the condition imposed on all novelties—namely, pass through a period of probation. In this country men are not wont to embrace at first sight. Upon first introduction to an acquaintance, we shake hands but coldly, and, however prepossessing his appearance, we never proffer him our hearts. Foreigners may kiss and hug in their arms those whom they have never before set eyes upon; but such flowing good-will suits not our phlegmatic temperament. When we do love, we love firmly, constantly, abidingly; but such love, like our own native oak, is slow of growth. As we deal with persons, so also with things. Our hearts never notice them until our eyes have become familiar with them. Novelties, therefore, even the most undeniably useful, have no peculiar charms for the English people. They must cease to be novelties before they are thoroughly appreciated. Men must scrutinise them, observe their action, test their capabilities, see them in various lights, and look at them from various points of view, ere they will permit their affections to cleave about them. Their first feeling is one of shyness. Time is required before they will unbutton their habitual reserve. Such was the case with parliamentary reform. Such has been the case, likewise, with the doctrines of free trade. Mr Sharman Crawford's plan of coercing an anti-popular majority, has not been singular in this respect. No theory, perhaps, upon the first broaching of it, has won for itself so many disciples. It is yet in its infancy, but it is nevertheless strong.

Then, again, it behoves us to reflect that it is a novelty, the character and tendency of which are confessedly *ultra*. To "stop the supplies" is, in most minds, only a synonyme for revolution; and the phrase, interpreted in its fullest extent, can be taken to mean no less. It is suggestive, as Mr Ward had it, "of anarchy, confusion, and ruin." Every public officer, together with his whole circle of friends, saw coiled up in the proposal instant beggary for himself. Fund-holders identified it as a plan for their own spoliation. Men of moderate views, and who never think twice on the same subject, imagined they could read in it the doom of all our national institutions. The mercantile classes looked at it as an agent destined to shake public credit to its centre. For this reason we regret the adoption of the phrase. It implies more than was ever intended. It tends to create a needless panic. Had it been put forth as a plan to deprive the aristocracy of their army only, it would have provoked less hostility, and would probably have enlisted more friends; and, undoubtedly, this is the essential characteristic of the plan, for it was upon the army estimates that the final stand was intended to have been made. Be this, however, as it may, there can be no doubt that it wore an extreme and revolutionary air; and we have no reason for astonishment that it was somewhat coldly regarded.

Once more, it is a novelty, the aid of which the larger and upper section of the middle class are not yet fully convinced that they need. They are not yet out of hope with their reformed parliament. They remember that in its earlier days, when the spirit of aristocracy was temporarily cowed, and when the heart of the people beat high with expectation, that they carried, by means of it, many large measures—the abolition of slavery, for example, and municipal reform. They are unmindful of the deteriorating influences which have since then been at work with constituencies. They forget how assiduous the landed proprietors have been to secure for themselves exclusive possession of county representation, and a predominant power over agricultural boroughs. They fancy that another general election will set everything to rights, without resorting to the extreme measure of "stopping the supplies." They have yet to discover this grand mistake. Under the influence of this mistake, however, they are quite indisposed to try the hazard of any *ultra* movement. Strong in their own imagination, they bide their time with patience, if not with cheerful acquiescence. The first practical lesson they have to learn is that of their own electoral weakness. When they have ascertained, by experiment, that they are hopelessly in the toils of aristocracy—at least, in so far as the representative principle is concerned—they will turn with favour to Mr Crawford's plan, and will seek to accomplish by that, as the mildest and most efficacious means, the emancipation of themselves from a state of political thralldom.

Lastly, it is a novelty which professed friends have taught a portion of the labouring classes to distrust. Mr Duncombe and Mr Feargus O'Connor have stirred up against it the hostility of a party whose noise compensates for its want of numbers. They have succeeded in the metropolis

in preventing the free expression of opinion in public meetings. They have created an appearance of division vastly more serious than any which exists. For a time they have gained their ends. The anti-supply movement has failed—the flag is struck. It remains to be seen, however, what advantage the working men will derive from obstructing the efforts of their most disinterested friends. Time will show that, and will bring to light many things which are now buried in secrecy; and to time the solution of the problem must be left. Meanwhile, unquestionably, the policy of these leaders of organised chartism has contributed not a little to the present failure of Mr Sharman Crawford's plan. This was the only feature of the case upon which we did not calculate. We had thought that the most fiery zealots for the charter had by this time learnt the utter fruitlessness of annoying their friends with a view to compel them to adopt a badge of party. Herein we were mistaken; but our mistake lay on the side of charity.

We cannot conclude without tendering our unfeigned and warmest thanks to the honourable member for Rochdale, for the services he has already rendered to his country. We trust, and indeed are fully confident, that the testimony of his own conscience will suffice him for a reward. Let him not be discouraged. The plan which has failed this year, and which must fail with such materials as compose the present House of Commons, will yet be resorted to under happier auspices, and the name of Crawford will be held in respectful remembrance, as the originator of that scheme of parliamentary action by which despotism may be pulled down without resort to arms.

HUMAN HECATOMBS.

THE world advances towards its assured and ultimate destiny by slow degrees. Over a large portion of it, men have learned to abhor the cruelty and impiety of offering human victims upon the altar of superstition. That they ever did so, is to us of this enlightened age a matter of wonderment. With unfeigned horror we turn away from the pictures occasionally found in the pages of antique history, or met with here and there among modern savages, of man presenting the blood of his fellow man to the grim idol of his devotion. Such sacrifices, it is true, were usually single, and were reserved for great occasions. But if the victim was but one, he was yet a man; and no one whom Christianity has taught to respect man—no one who has learned to appreciate his generic worth—can, even in fancy, witness his immolation at any shrine, without a sense of shame—a burning blush of confusion—at the depravity which could prompt, and the iron-heartedness which could execute, the atrocious deed.

Well! the world—the *Christian* world, as it is called—is far enough from having banished the foul offence from within its limits. The idol is changed, and with it, its priesthood—but the rites are the same. Patrician ambition, taking the guise of state-craft, is our modern Moloch—and, to appease its insatiable demands, political party offers up, not here and there a human victim, but whole hecatombs. Blood flows in torrents—death holds a carnival—fire and sword lay waste extensive regions—thousands of souls are pitched over into the abyss of eternity—and all for what? Will the churches of this country, who stand by and see this deed of horror done—and done again—and yet again—within the short space of two years—tell us for what? Will statesmen, who talk of these things with a *nonchalance* that curdles one's blood, state explicitly for what? Will the *Morning Chronicle*, which needlessly, and as a work of supererogation, disclaims all sympathy with "the cant of humanity," lay aside its generalities, and inform us what is that great object for which in northern India—in Afghanistan, Scinde, and Gwalior, some twenty thousand human beings have been sacrificed? What has been the gain to any party out of this general loss? Who has profited thereby? What one element of social amelioration has derived strength therefrom? Let the advantage be defined, weighed, measured, tested, which may be set over against this wholesale butchery as an adequate compensation? Where is the man among the whole throng of warrior-worshippers, who will dare to stand up before his Maker and urge that the end sought is a sufficient justification of the means employed—and that this will counterbalance those?

By the last overland mail we learn that another "brilliant victory" has crowned our arms in the East—and that Anglo-Indian history is graced with another "splendid achievement." Such are the terms beneath which the atrocities of war are concealed from the too prying eyes of the moralist. "Brilliant!" "Splendid!" What a mockery of language! How delusive! How false! Fourteen thousand men, drilled into perfect machinery, are brought into hostile collision with eighteen thousand equally courageous, but not equally well disciplined. By the application of science in the work of destruction, the lesser number deal out havoc with more deadly precision than the greater.

On the one side, 144 are killed and 866 wounded; on the other, from 3000 to 4000 killed, and twice as many wounded. What does all this prove? That there was a larger amount of brute courage with the victors than with the vanquished? Not at all—and if it did, the proof places the men who have demonstrated it no higher in the scale of merit than may with equal reason be claimed for the bulldog. But it does not. They who suffered to the greatest extent before they yielded have established thereby as good, if not a better, title to the possession of courage, as they who received least harm, but yet prevailed. The dwarf with pistol in hand, may fell a giant without one. Our own troops, well armed, well provided, well disciplined, under the conduct of a commander skilled in military tactics, were in a position as superior to that of their foes, as that of the armed dwarf over the unarmed giant. Science was wielded against comparative ignorance, and science has had the best of it, as any reasonable being must have anticipated. The "brilliant achievement" consists in this—nothing more, nothing less—that our Anglo-Indian forces, aided by discipline and military skill, have been able, at far less loss to themselves than they deal out to others, to hew down some thousands of human beings opposed to them. And this work is called a "splendid" one!

Thus much for our army—our gallant army—whom it is the fashion of the times to praise—whose colours ladies scruple not to present, nor titled churchmen to consecrate—whose officers the senate thanks with unanimity—whose successful generals are elevated to the peers— and whose present commander-in-chief has been rewarded with public money to the amount of two millions sterling. Let us now turn to other parties. The army moves not but as it is moved. Who employs it? Who sends it prowling from state to state, like a beast of prey, ready at any moment to spring upon the defenceless? Who ordered the Syrian expedition? Who undertook the war against China? Who invaded Afghanistan? Who pounced upon Scinde? Who superintended operations in Gwalior? We answer, the whig and tory aristocracy in turn, as either party happened to possess the heights of office—and each has been supported by aristocratic nominees in the House of Commons. And are these the ends for which British Christians deem it their duty to cherish and maintain a patrician government? They complain of France for having seized upon Tahiti, and urge the British cabinet to protest against the iniquity. But is injustice only injustice when perpetrated upon a small scale, and when it comes athwart our own projects of benevolence? Are we to lift our blood-stained hands in solemn protest against France, for having effected, in the Society islands, without the loss of life, what we have ourselves done in north-western India, at the expense of thousands of victims? Is France likely to pay much respect to us if we do? There must be more sincerity in the church, before there can be any great advance in the morals of the world. Mission-boards who wink at great wrongs, cannot be expected to command much reverence when they lift up their voice against peccadilloes. They who were silent, of set purpose, about China, cannot rebuke with much moral propriety the deeds enacted in the South seas—and when our own aristocracy are permitted to butcher thousands, unchecked by any religious protest, the King of the French may well ask what villany he has committed to raise so violent a stir.

We understand that his Royal Highness Prince Albert is going, during the Easter recess, to make a short excursion to the continent, in order to visit his afflicted relations at Coburg.—*Times*.

We regret to learn that his Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge is confined to his chamber, and it is anticipated he will be so for some days, by reason of a severe attack of the gout in the knee joint.—*Standard*, March 6.

KEW PALACE.—It is understood that the royal apartments in this ancient palace, once the favourite abode of King George III., are to be forthwith prepared for the temporary sojourn of the Prince of Wales, and the Princesses Royal and Alice, during the stay of the court in town, for the advantage of the country air.—*Standard*.

Lord Melgund, eldest son of Earl Minto, and heir to a very good landed estate, has declared himself in favour of a total repeal of the corn laws. His uncle, the late member for Roxburghshire, has sent in his adhesion to the League.—*Morning Chronicle*.

Senhor Olozaga, the celebrated Spanish deputy, came by the last packet to Southampton, on his way to London, having been expelled by the Portuguese government at the secret requisition of the Madrid authorities, this expulsion being made the condition of assisting Senhor Cabral, if needful, with a Spanish army of intervention.

The select committee on railway bills classification have reported, that of the twenty-eight pending railway bills before the House, only the Colchester and Harwich Railway (No. 2) and the Harwich Railway and Pier are bills for competing lines.

THE SIEGE AT JELLALABAD.—Silver medals are at present being struck off at the Mint, for the purpose of being presented to those who were present at the siege of Jellalabad.

NATIONAL TESTIMONIAL TO MR. ROWLAND HILL.—We have now to inform our readers that the well-known London Commercial Postage committee has resumed its sittings, for the express purpose of promoting a just remuneration to Mr. Hill, by a substantial expression of the nation's gratitude. They held a preliminary meeting on Thursday, at which Sir George Larpent presided, when they appointed two secretaries, and requested Sir George Larpent to act as their treasurer; but they are to meet again early next week, and will associate with themselves the noblemen and gentlemen who have consented to act on the general committee. They have already obtained the express sanction of a number of the leading merchants and bankers of the city, without distinction of party, and we may now expect immediately to see published a list of names carrying all the weight which wealth and personal influence can give to any cause. The London Postage committee hold their meetings at the rooms of the East India and China association, Jerusalem coffee house, Cowper's court, Cornhill, where Mr. Wansey may be addressed as secretary until further notice is given.—*Inquirer.*

MUNIFICENCE.—Mr. J. Moses, of Aldgate, has presented £2,000 to the Jewish Orphan School, for a new school room. He has also offered to bear the whole expense of its erection. This benevolent gentleman some time since erected and endowed a number of almshouses at Mile End.

Stolzer, who was capitally convicted at the Central Criminal court last October, and sent to the Millbank Penitentiary when reprieved, has become insane, and has been sent to the criminal wing of Bethlehem Hospital.

The *Times* last week had a couple of articles signalised by extraordinary malignity towards Mr. O'Connell, and actually hounding ministers on to his imprisonment. The following is an extract from one of them:—

"We call upon her Majesty's ministers to be no more swayed now by the clamour against punishment than they were four months ago by the clamour against prosecution. They have appealed to the laws, and the laws have responded to them. Let the ministers prove true to the judicial power of the state, as it has proved true to them. To relax the laws is not to administer them in mercy; for it is not mercy, but cruelty to the public, to strip the people of protection by taking away discouragement from crime. We repeat, therefore, execute the laws. 'Be just, and fear not.'"

PRACTICAL RESULT OF THE MOVEMENT FOR WITHHOLDING THE SUPPLIES.—The *Times* of Wednesday last contained an article, strongly condemning the conduct in parliament of what it is pleased to term "grievance-mongers," and asserting that this "popularity-courting cant" has produced no small effect on the present ministry:—

"It has acted this year in a manner which, while we regret to observe it now, we may have occasion to deplore hereafter—in effecting the reduction of our navy estimates to an extent which will require a practical abandonment of our maritime supremacy. It would be useless to enlarge on the dangers of such a course; but should disasters ensue, it will be no consolation to be told that a retrenchment so hazardous as this is has been made to gratify the radical section of the community."

EXPORTS TO BRAZIL.—It appears from a return published by the House of Commons on the motion of Mr. Labouchere, that the declared value of the exports of our principal manufactures, and also of our entire exports, to Brazil, during the last three years, have been as follows:—

Years.	EXPORTS TO BRAZIL.				
	PRINCIPAL ARTICLES.				Total Declared Value of Exports.
	Cottons.	Hardware & Cutlery.	Linens.	Silks.	Wool-lens.
1841	£ 1,472,280	£ 48,071	£ 243,997	£ 29,217	£ 329,984
1842	£ 819,580	£ 50,756	£ 152,484	£ 21,996	£ 258,308
1843	£ 1,096,874	£ 80,070	£ 154,323	£ 30,403	£ 278,171
					£ 1,400,127

The very large amount of these exports is a proof of the high importance of the Brazilian market; yet we absolutely exclude from the British market a principal article of Brazilian produce, sugar, which would form the best return for our manufactures, and thus we put to hazard that great branch of trade. In so doing, we injure at once the consumers of sugar and the producers of manufactures.

REDUCTION OF THREE-AND-A-HALF PER CENTS.—Up to Monday afternoon not a single dissentient had entered his name in the books opened at the Bank of England, although it is known that most of the large holders are registered in town.

RENEWAL OF THE BANK CHARTER.—The impression has become very general that Sir Robert Peel intends, on the renewal of the bank charter, to prohibit, after a certain time, the issue of notes by private or joint stock banks.

CULINARY WONDER.—In a very *recherché* dinner given last Saturday by some friends of Mr. O'Connell at the Reform club, there was a remarkable dainty dish placed upon the table, entitled "Le Soufflé Monstre à la Clontarf." The height of it was 29 inches, and the width 17; it took four hours and a quarter to bake, and contained 36 eggs, with other ingredients in proportion. Fifty very small soufflés were seen clinging round that colossal mountain, and an extraordinary good likeness of the great agitator (drawn on rice paper, and surrounded by wreaths of shamrock) appeared, as it were, rising from the volcanic crater. It created much humour amongst the assembled guests, and we are happy to state that this monstrous "sweet meeting" was dispersed with the most perfect order.—*Sun.*

General News.

FOREIGN.

INDIA.

The overland mail arrived on Thursday last, bringing intelligence of two severely-contested battles having been fought in Gwalior, which terminated in the total discomfiture of the enemy, although attended with great loss on the side of the British. The causes of our interference in the affairs of Gwalior, which led to these bloody conflicts, are detailed at length in a proclamation issued by the Governor-general of India on his advance to that territory:—

It appears from this document that, on the decease of the late Maharaja, the British government promptly acknowledged as his successor Jyajee Ras Scindia, who was nearest in blood to him, and whose adoption by the Maharanees, his Highness's widow, was approved by the chiefs. The regency was, at the same time, by general consent, conferred on the Mama Sahib. Soon after, however, by the intrigues of an individual named the Dada Khasgee Walla, the regent was expelled from office and from the country, and, by the influence of the above-named party, various acts were committed insulting and injurious to the British government. Persons hostile to it were restored to power, and others favourable to it, and to the preservation of peace, removed from office. These proceedings led to the withdrawal of our resident from Gwalior, and, with subsequent acts of the Dada, induced Lord Ellenborough to give orders for a march of our troops, under Sir H. Gough, towards Gwalior, and to demand the giving up of the Dada as a condition of peace. The offending regent was sent prisoner to Agra, and affairs seemed likely to return to their former peaceful state, if the Gwalior government would have adopted satisfactory measures for the establishment of order on the joint frontier of Gwalior and British India, and for the security of British subjects residing there. As no attempt to effect these objects was made by the ruling parties in Gwalior, and it was understood that the young Maharaja was a virtual prisoner among his turbulent chiefs, headed by the Maharanees, the Governor-general considered it right to interfere in order to carry out the terms of a treaty which we had some time since entered into with the Maharaja to protect his person and put down disturbers of his government. Accordingly, our troops were again ordered to advance. Meanwhile, however, negotiations continued on the part of the Mahratta "durbar," but they had determined on resistance, and the object was merely to gain time. While the vakeels treated with us at Hingonah, the Bae and Sirdars were making vigorous and decided preparations to oppose us. The British agent (Colonel Sleeman) at length arrived, and brought the startling intelligence that the soldiery would not allow the Maharanees to quit the capital, and had resolved to obstruct the progress of our troops. The Governor-general, therefore, resolved on hostilities.

The reduction of Gwalior was effected in two separate battles. The principal one, at Maharajpoor, on the 29th December, is described in an official despatch by the commander-in-chief, Sir Hugh Gough, who led the British forces in person. He found the Mahratta army in a strong and well-chosen position at Chonda, where the country was intersected by deep and almost impassable ravines. The British army, about 14,000 strong, with forty pieces of artillery, crossed the Koharee river in three columns, at considerable distances; and by eight o'clock in the morning took up their appointed positions, a mile in front of Maharajpoor: the enemy had taken up the ground during the night. The Mahratta force was about 18,000, including 3000 cavalry, with 100 guns. The British force included 300 cavalry, but the nature of the ground impeded the operations of the horse. After a most obstinate defence, the right wing of the Mahrattas were obliged to retreat into the village. Two columns of the British force followed them into the town, and took it almost by storm, but few of the defenders escaping. The main body of the army were routed at Chonda by Major-general Littler. The loss on both sides was very severe. On the British side 106 were killed, 684 wounded, 7 missing; total, 797. Major-general Churchill died during the night, after amputation of the leg: in all, 9 officers were killed. As many as 56 guns were captured, and the whole of the ammunition wagons. The loss of the enemy in killed and wounded was immense: it is estimated to have been between three and four thousand. During the action the Governor-general, Lady Gough, and her daughter, were frequently by the side of the Commander-in-chief, exposed to considerable danger. Subsequently, Lord Ellenborough appeared on the field of Maharajpoor, and distributed gold mohurs and oranges, with which his pockets were filled!

While Sir Hugh Gough entered Scindia from the north-east, with the force which he had collected in Bundeund, Major-general John Grey also crossed the Scindian frontier with the left wing of the Gwalior army, about 2000 strong, from the south-west, and pushed on rapidly to Punnar, twelve miles from Gwalior, which he reached on the 28th of December. As he approached, the enemy, about 12,000 in number, took up a strong position near the fortified village of Mangore. A succession of fights took place; and at night-fall the enemy were thoroughly routed, and their ammunition, treasure, and 24 guns, were taken. The loss on both sides was very severe.

Directly after the action at Maharajpoor, the fort of Gwalior was surrendered; and the Maharaja, the Maharanees, and leading chiefs, came to the camp and made their submission. Negotiations were renewed; and on the 13th January an official notification was issued that a new treaty had been signed, and that the British troops would be withdrawn. The terms are not positively known, but the *Bombay Times* says—"They are understood to be moderate and equitable. Scindia's dominions are to remain independent of all interference on our part with their internal arrangements; but the British government is to have a voice in the appointment of the administra-

tion. The troops, with the exception of 10,000 men, are to be paid up and discharged, with a gratuity of three months' pay."

It was expected that the Governor-general would set out for Calcutta on the 23rd.

In a general order, dated "Camp, Gwalior Residency, 4th January, 1844," the Governor-general directs the issue of the despatches announcing the victories; "deeply laments," "cordially congratulates," and "gratefully acknowledges," according to the nature of the events recorded; and dispenses various general honours: *inter alia*—"The government of India will, as a mark of its grateful sense of their distinguished merit, present to every general and other officer, and to every soldier, engaged in the battles of Maharajpoor and Punnar, an Indian star of bronze, made out of the guns taken at those battles; and all officers and soldiers in the service of the government of India will be permitted to wear the star with their uniforms. A triumphal monument, commemorative of the campaign of Gwalior, will be erected at Calcutta, and inscribed with the names of all who fell in the two battles."

The news from the Punjab is doubtful. The Sikhs were still lost in distracted councils, and seemed waiting for the result of the movements in Gwalior to determine their bearing towards the British.

The rumours from Afghanistan are quite unimportant, except a very apocryphal report that the Afghans have taken Peeshawur.

CHINA.

The advices from China come down to the 28th December, a month later than those previously received; but they are almost destitute of interest. The port of Shanghai was officially opened on the 17th November, by Captain Balfour, the consul. Trade at Canton and Chusan was dull.

It is feared that the Chinese authorities, including the Emperor himself, are not willing to carry out the provisions of the liberal tariff which forms part of the treaty with Great Britain.

FRANCE.

The *Journal des Débats* publishes a long address, presented by the archbishop of Paris and the bishops of the province of Paris, with exception of the bishop of Chartres, to the King, in which they protest strongly against the government measure on secondary instruction. The papers are much taken up with the trial and conviction of the celebrated preacher the Abbé Combalot, for a libel on the university of France, contained in a pamphlet published by him in the month of January last, on the dispute between that establishment and the church. The sentence pronounced upon him was a fine of 4,000 francs and 15 days' imprisonment.

The leading Italian political refugees in Paris were on Friday sent for by the prefect of police, and cautioned against carrying on or entering into any conspiracy for revolutionising Italy. General Pepe expressed his indignation at the proceeding, which he declared perfectly unjustified by facts. It was, nevertheless, the universal belief in Paris that "the entire Italian peninsula is ripe and ready for revolt, but that no danger of a rising on a large scale can exist during a time of peace, or so long as the colossal force of Austria in Italy remains undiminished."

The *Toulonnais* of the 5th instant announces, that Rear-admiral Hamelin had been summoned up to Paris by telegraph. It was believed in Toulon that he would be sent to replace Admiral Dupetit Thouars in the command of the South Sea station.

SPAIN.

Queen Isabella II. and her sister, accompanied by General Narvaez, two ministers of state, the members of the *corps diplomatique*, and the principal officers of her household, were to leave Madrid for Aranjuez on the morning of the 6th, to meet the queen-mother Maria Christina, who was to sleep on the 10th at Albacete. Her first interview with her daughters was to take place between Ocaña and Aranjuez.

The French government has received the following telegraphic despatch:—

"PERPIGNAN, MARCH 7.—The entry of Queen Christina into Barcelona, on the 4th, was a triumph; there was great enthusiasm, and the town was magnificently illuminated. The fêtes were continuing the day before yesterday. Her Majesty was to leave this day or tomorrow by land for Tarragona, there to embark in the Lavoisier for Valencia.—The municipal elections of Valencia were known on the 3rd. The Moderados had gained the upper hand."

The last despatches from General Roncali were dated the 28th ult. In the evening of that day, 200 infantry and 50 cavalry made a sortie from Alicante, protected by the fire of the batteries of San Fernando, and attempted to carry several houses, occupied by soldiers of the provincial regiment of Murcia, stationed there to defend the workmen engaged in erecting a battery against the fort. The assailants, however, were repulsed, and obliged to re-enter the town. The siege artillery had arrived, but had not yet been landed.

The contemplated expedition against Morocco was a general subject of conversation. By some it was stated that its effective force would amount to 20,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry, and that the command in chief would be given to General Concha, and that of the advanced guard to General Prim.

The *Castellano* of the 2nd inst. states, that the property of the clergy declared to be national continues to be sold with extraordinary rapidity, and at extremely high prices. In the provinces there appears to exist an equal desire to purchase church property.

FOREIGN MISCELLANY.

Advices from Athens of the 10th ult. state that King Otho has had a narrow escape from being poisoned, owing to the carelessness of his cook, who prepared a dish in a vessel in which verdigris had been allowed to collect.

It is said that a mitigation of the Emperor of Russia's ukase for the removal of the Jews has been made at the instance of the King of Prussia and the Grand Duke Michael.

The General Diet of Hungary has adopted, without any discussion, and by a majority of 41 votes against 8, a motion for the emancipation of the Jews.

POPULAR EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES.—It appears that for the purposes of what may be called popular education, we have, of academies and grammar schools, 3,242; of common schools, 47,209; giving, as the whole number of our institutions for popular education, 50,451. According to a table compiled for one of our southern journals, it appears, as the effect of our extensive common school systems, that in Maryland there is the proportion of but 1 to every 27 who cannot read or write; in Louisiana, 1 to 38; in Ohio, 1 to 43; Pennsylvania, 1 to 50; New York, 1 to 56; New Jersey, 1 to 58; Rhode Island, 1 to 67; Michigan, 1 to 97; Maine, 1 to 108; while, better still, in the other New England states, in Massachusetts appears the gratifying fact, that there is but 1 to 166; in New Hampshire, but 1 to 310; in Vermont, but 1 to 473; and, best of all, in Connecticut, the leader among the States in the enterprise of popular education, but 1 to 568. Out of our population, then, of 17,000,000, there is a grand proportion who can read and write their own language.—*Christian Review*.

LIBERATION OF SLAVES.—We have the most sincere gratification in announcing that measures have been taken, and are in effective progress, for the emancipation of the slaves hitherto held by the Moravian Brethren in the Danish islands of St Thomas and St Croix. It appears that the Society, having some time since presented a memorial to the Governor, Von Scholten, seeking his concurrence in such a step, received, on the 21st of November last, a favourable answer, making, however, two conditions; the one, that the slaves should not all be liberated at once; the other, that provision should be made for the support of the aged and infirm. Complying with these terms, the Brethren emancipated a portion of their slaves, and made arrangements by which the whole would acquire their freedom in a few months from that date.—*Anti-slavery Reporter*.

In France there have been extensive inundations; the Rhone, the Meuse, the Ornain, and the Seine, have overflowed their banks, doing great damage. The heights in the Jura and the Doubs are overlaid with vast masses of snow, frightful avalanches threatening the vallies beneath. Similar reports come from the Tyrol and from Germany.

THE KING OF SWEDEN.—*A-propos de tatouage*, it is affirmed that the King of Sweden's physicians were greatly astonished the other day, on bleeding his Majesty, to find the words "Liberté! Egalité! ou la Mort!" very legibly stained on his arm. They could not recover from their amazement. Charles John has been so long a king, that it is forgotten that he began by being a mere hero, and he is so good a king that one cannot persuade oneself that he was formerly so good a republican. But how strange! a king tattooed with liberty! Our whole age is exhibited in that *rapprochement*; liberty, equality, or death! Yet it is with such mottoes that one reaches a throne in our days.—*Madame de Girardin*.

DOMESTIC.

METROPOLITAN.

THE ANTI-CORN-LAW LEAGUE.—The Anti-corn-law League held their usual meeting at Covent Garden theatre, on Wednesday. The attendance was numerous. The speakers of the evening were Mr Villiers, chairman, Dr Bowring, Mr F. T. Collier, son of the late member for Plymouth, Mr J. T. Leader, M.P., and Mr W. J. Fox. The latter speaker spoke with great effect, and criticised, in a happy vein, the proceedings of the monopolists:

He said the Anti-league Associations were the greatest triumph the efforts of the League had yet achieved. It was a confession, on the part of the aristocracy, that the popular voice must finally decide between them, and that parliament would not be the ultimate tribunal. They had dragged the aristocracy to the bar of public opinion, and compelled them to plead. They were brought where they could be cross-examined as to the history of class legislation and its results, and where the plea, "Not guilty upon my honour," would not be admitted; when they would be asked, "Were you ever in trouble before, and where?" Whether they had or not, there would be required, with indemnity for the past, security for the future. They must not continue to underrate the intellects of the people, who, though not taught Latin or mathematics by professors, had eyes and brains, and were not to be won by a species of rhetoric called humbug. He would caution their opponents against such exhibitions as had been lately made at Newton Abbott, where the agricultural flag, bearing the motto "Protection," was flanked on each side with cannon. It was not prudent for thousands to suggest such displays to millions. The millions had better weapons, for there was a power spreading through society which one electric touch would bring into action with a force that nothing could resist. The proselytes to the principles of free trade were daily on the increase, whilst the advocates for protection could not show a single convert. This showed that public opinion had set in like a tide that knew no ebb—opinion, the ruler of the world—opinion, which anticipated the province of history, and which glorified those whom unjust verdicts had condemned [loud cheers, which were continued while the audience

rose in a body]—opinion, which, whilst it irradiated the dungeon of the victim, struck cold apprehension to the heart of the sophist and the tyrant—opinion, which set its seal on those works which virtue most highly prized, which rendered crowns no more than the mere wood and velvet of which they were composed, which rendered coronets, and mitres, and croziers, apart from worth, and piety, and religion, worth no more than they would fetch at a pawn office. By this opinion the corn-law monopoly must now stand or fall; and it had already pronounced that law an atrocious crime, which must be obliterated for ever from the statute book.

MEETING OF THE ELECTORS OF THE TOWER HAMLETS.—A public meeting assembled in the court house of the Tower Hamlets on Wednesday, to consider the policy of government towards Ireland, and Sir Robert Peel's recent declaration about the corn laws. George Offor, Esq., presided. Some chartists and others interrupted the business of the meeting, great part of which proceeded in dumb show. Resolutions, however, were passed, expressing sympathy with the Irish people, and condemning Sir Robert Peel's declaration that he would maintain the present corn law. The members, Sir William Clay and Colonel Fox, attended, and made speeches, which were somewhat roughly received by the hostile party. At the close Sir William Clay submitted to a course of questioning, in which he avowed that he would not vote for an unconditional repeal of the union, though he would seek equal rights for the Irish people; that he would amend, but not repeal, the new poor law; and that he would not support Mr Sharman Crawford's motion for complete suffrage. Colonel Fox avoided his catechism by going away before it began.

EDUCATION OF THE PEOPLE.—A numerous meeting to promote the cause of education was held at Trevor chapel, Brompton, on Wednesday evening last, William Walker, Esq., in the absence of C. Hindley, Esq., M.P., in the chair. The meeting was addressed by J. C. Evans, Esq., and the following ministers, Dr Morrison, and Messrs G. Smith, Martin, J. Burnet, — Houghton, — Cumming, and Sherman. Mr Hindley, who arrived about the middle of the proceedings, stated, that at a meeting last week, in Ashton, which was held in a small room, not containing over one fourth of the number then present before him, the subscription before its close amounted to £2,007. The most gratifying fact he had to lay before them, connected with that subscription, was that so large a proportion of it as £200 was contributed by the labouring portion of the congregation. He had every reason to believe that the Ashton subscription would yet reach £3,000, and he hoped it would even reach as high as £5,000. Mr Martin, from Westminster, stated that his congregation had been for some time engaged in building schools for their own immediate locality. The building not yet finished had already cost them about £2,000, and £100 more was wanted for their completion. Mr Houghton, from Kensington, announced that the contribution from his congregation, amounted to £430, intimating that that was only a part of what he expected to obtain. Mr Cumming, from Hammersmith, announced £95 as the amount collected in his district. Dr Morrison announced that the total amount subscribed by his own congregation at Trevor chapel, Brompton, was £351; but he expected more, and invited those present, who had not already subscribed, to do so immediately. A pause of several minutes then ensued, during which the number of fresh subscriptions which poured in, showed that there was every disposition to respond liberally to the invitation. The amount was swelled by the new contributions to £503, making in all about £5,000, which the congregation of Trevor chapel have raised within the last three years for the purposes of education.

INCREASE OF MORTALITY FROM SMALL-POX.—Within the last few weeks the small-pox has become prevalent in some of the more densely-populated districts of the metropolis. The weekly bills of mortality show an average increase of deaths from this cause unprecedented for years past.

THE FEAST OF ESTHER.—Tuesday, March 5, being the feast of Purim, Sir Moses Montefiore, according to his usual custom, visited all the Portuguese charity schools, and presented to the children (amounting to several hundreds) a sum of money, varying from 1s. to 3s. each, all in new silver coin. This festival is the only one in which business is not prohibited. It is usually celebrated after business hours. On the eve of this festival the synagogues are numerously attended, to hear the book of Esther read, and every mention of the name of Haman was formerly followed by a great noise produced by the striking of small wooden hammers, with which the younger branches of the congregation were provided, and which was attended by great injury to the buildings. This has all been of late prohibited, and the offensive word now meets with no interruptions. At the east of the metropolis maskers may be seen parading the streets, and visiting those houses where they know the festival is kept, and they cannot be got rid of without receiving a fee.

FREE-MASONRY.—At a numerous meeting of free-masons, held on Wednesday night, March 6, at Free-masons' hall, the Earl of Zetland was elected grand master of the United Grand Lodge of England and Wales, in the room of the late Duke of Sussex.

A second attempt to set fire to Messrs Grissell and Peto's extensive premises, in York road, Lambeth, was made on Friday night. About £20 worth of damage is done. The proprietors intend to employ a night foreman.

THE CARE OF SUPPOSED TRANCE AT DEPTFORD.—On Friday, there were such unequivocal signs of decomposition having taken place in the body, that the parents of the deceased determined on having a *post mortem* examination, and Messrs Downing, sur-

geons to the R division of police, and Mr Caleb Taylor, surgeon, High street, Deptford, were requested to perform the operation, which they did in a most minute and careful manner, and in which they were occupied several hours. They reported that the deceased had died of congestive apoplexy, not of disease of the heart. It is remarkable that out of the large number of professional gentlemen who viewed the body during the 35 days after death, only one expressed an opinion as to the cause thereof, which has been borne out by the *post mortem* examination.

PROVINCIAL.

MR O'CONNELL AT BIRMINGHAM.

On Wednesday, the people of Birmingham gave Mr O'Connell a splendid reception in their magnificent Town hall. Previously an address was presented to the "Liberator" by the repealers of Birmingham. After the reception of the address, Mr O'Connell remained in privacy at the station till one o'clock, when he proceeded, accompanied only by Mr Joseph Sturge, to the Town hall. That enormous building, which will hold about 9000 persons, was crammed in every part long before his arrival. On the platform were Mr Hugh Hutton, Mr Thomas Morgan, Mr J. Alsop, Mr E. Madley, George Edmonds, Esq., Mr Alderman Hutton, Joseph Sturge, Esq., a large proportion of the town council, and about three hundred of the most popular leading manufacturers, shopkeepers, and others in the town. Immediately after one, a noise was raised at the top of the stairs leading to the gallery, which gave the note of preparation, and presently Mr Joseph Sturge made his appearance, trying to force a passage for Mr O'Connell. All eyes were now turned to the spot, and the suspense and anxiety were removed by the appearance of him whom thousands had thus met to honour. A tremendous shout burst forth from every individual. The ladies rose and waved their handkerchiefs, and one continued round of cheering, and every other popular demonstration suitable to the place, was resorted to. Covent Garden had evidently given the tone to the midland metropolis, and every one present, young and old, seemed to vie with each other in expressions of their enthusiasm. Minute after minute of continued cheering, waving of hats, &c., continued, until the failure of physical strength alone closed the welcome which the warm-hearted and thorough good reformers at Birmingham had in store for the man whom our rulers had deigned to honour with a state prosecution. Mr O'Connell bowed repeatedly to the audience, and sat down amidst a final burst.

GEORGE EDMONDS, Esq., clerk of the peace, was unanimously called to the chair, in the absence of the mayor, who was prevented from attending in consequence of the death of his mother. The chairman read letters from the borough members, expressing regret at their inability to attend.

Mr MORGAN then moved the adoption of the following resolution:—

"That the people of Ireland, as the subjects of the British Crown, are entitled to enjoy all the rights and liberties which belong to the inhabitants of the other parts of the empire, and equally with them to derive the benefit of a just and impartial government."

"That this principle has been violated by a long course of misgovernment, of which recent circumstances afford flagrant proof, particularly in the suppression, by military force, of a peaceable public meeting, convened for legal purposes, and in the selection of a sectarian jury upon the late trial of D. O'Connell, Esq., and others."

"That these circumstances, while they justify the utmost alarm for the constitutional rights of the whole nation, call for an expression of hearty sympathy with the people of Ireland, who have, notwithstanding their oppressions, exhibited that peaceful and exemplary conduct which ought to command every exertion for the speedy redress of their grievances by parliament."

Having referred to the first part of the resolution, Mr Morgan proceeded to say, let him ask his hearers—for what were they assembled that day? Were they met to congratulate the whigs on the nine days' debate? or were they met, as in 1832, to carry them back to power on the shoulders of the Reform bill [no, no]? No! but they were met to congratulate Mr O'Connell on his escape from the meshes of the law; for assuredly he should not be condemned [in]mense cheering—he was about to say, if the voice of the people of England could prevent it—but he would not say so, for that voice had gone forth, and would be heard; and let him, as a lawyer, warn them of the danger of that judge-made law which, if adopted in England as a precedent, would certainly lead to the entire destruction of the constitution, unless, with a perfect, unquestionable accent, the people should give out their fiat against its adoption in reference to Mr O'Connell and those persons who had lately been exposed to danger from it in Ireland.

Mr SHARMAN CRAWFORD then entered the hall, and upon his entrance into the organ gallery was cheered with immense enthusiasm.

Mr M'DONELL seconded, and Mr T. C. SALT supported, the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

JOSEPH STURGE, Esq., rose to move the second resolution, and was received with long-continued applause. He said, Fellow townsmen, we are met here to-day for practical purposes, and the resolution which I have been requested to move is of a practical character. It is this:—

"That instead of the recognition of the people as the source of all power, the British empire appears to be in danger of becoming subject to a despotism. That the only guarantee for the attainment and protection of perfect civil and religious liberty is to be found in a full, fair, and free representation of the people; and this will be effectually obtained by the friends of the people in parliament enforcing the ancient constitutional principle

that redress of grievances should precede the voting of supplies."

We have often met in this hall on great public occasions, but never before in circumstances in which the vital interests of the people of England were in greater danger [hear]. We are met not to protest against a coercion bill, but what is far more dangerous, an attempt to destroy the liberty of the people, by perverting the law and the British constitution [applause]. You are aware that the House of Commons was recently engaged for nine nights discussing the state of Ireland. That was a party debate; but it still did much good in showing in full relief the wrongs of Ireland [cheers]. The discussions have clearly shown that when any peaceable agitation for the repeal of laws, however obnoxious those laws may be to the people, is likely to become effectual, it is pronounced seditious, and its leaders conspirators [hear, hear]. Such is the law as laid down by the Chief Justice at the Irish trials—who so far forgoth himself as to merge the character of the judge in that of the political partisan, and call the counsel for the defence "the gentlemen on the other side." The principal charges against the traversers were these:—causing disaffection in the army—the assembling in large numbers—and the constitution of arbitration courts. Now, I do not hesitate to say, I must plead guilty to all these charges [great cheering]. I believe it to be my duty to discourage every man from going into the army, and to advise those who are in it to withdraw from it as soon as they can. Daniel O'Connell sees here to-day a monster meeting on a small scale—this meeting, according to the law laid down on the Irish trials, is illegal; for what said the Attorney-general? He said, "I may be told that the meetings which were held dispersed peaceably and instantaneously on being desired to do so. But to me this is the most formidable and aggravating feature of these meetings" [hear, hear, shame, and cheers]. Such were the sentiments expressed by a man who, whilst acting as the expositor of the law on behalf of the Crown, sent a challenge to one of the counsel for the traversers to fight a duel [hear, hear, and shame]. I belong to a religious society who make it a strict condition of membership that they should not go to law [hear, hear]. Now, by the law of the Attorney-general, we must go to law if we differ, and if we do not we are liable to prosecution for bringing the courts of law into contempt [applause]. When are these things to be remedied? Whenever the people of England and Ireland unite in saying it shall be done [great cheering]. We have long been using the most strenuous efforts for various excellent objects—the abolition of ecclesiastical imposts—the tax upon land, &c.; but whilst heartily acknowledging their importance, I have arrived at the conclusion that England can never be relieved of these and other evils, or Ireland of the yet more galling oppressions under which she groans, until the monster grievance—class legislation—is removed. For this great object let there be perfect union between England and Ireland; let the name of Celt, and Saxon, and every term of distinction be forgotten [cheers]; and let us unite in seeking the redress of that one great grievance, the non-representation of the people. We have at least one common bond—that of suffering from the same oppression [cheers]. Daniel O'Connell may be assured that if all the assembly now before him, and the rest of our fellow-countrymen, possessed the franchise, their money would not be expended in sending 30,000 soldiers to Ireland to suppress peaceable meetings at the point of the bayonet, and to protect a partisan jury in convicting him and his friends on a "judge-made law" [loud cheering]. And here let me ask, under what circumstances was Ireland thus oppressed? I will read to you a statement from parliamentary documents, of the amount of money paid for the police in Dublin, and also of the expense of criminal prosecutions in Ireland for the last three years. It is this:—

Cost of the Dublin police:—	
1841	£36,100
1842	35,600
1843	31,400
Decrease from 1841 to 1843,	£6,600.
Expenses of criminal prosecutions in Ireland:—	
1841	£103,449
1842	91,400
1843	61,449
Decrease from 1841 to 1843,	£42,000.

[Hear, hear.] from Mr O'Connell, and cheers from the meeting.] If England has heretofore exhibited but little sympathy for Ireland, it has entirely arisen from ignorance of the injustice done to that injured country. We are now becoming better acquainted with her real condition, and are impressed with admiration at the patience and forbearance of her people under their aggravated wrongs. To succour the oppressed is the impulse of a generous nation; added to which, at the present crisis, are motives of the strongest self-interest. If the peaceful agitation of six millions of people in Ireland is successfully put down, how long will an Anti-corn-law, or Anti-state-church agitation be permitted in England [applause]? And yet this was the time chosen to send the military force of England to put down the peaceable inhabitants of Ireland, who had met to complain of their grievances [hear, hear]. I have said we have met to-day for practical purposes. And I ask again, how are these evils to be remedied? I have repeatedly stated in this hall that I could not take away the life of a human being to save my own; consequently I could not join with any who would resort to such an alternative for the dearest rights of my fellow countrymen. But you have the power of preventing your money from being applied to purposes of oppression, and this without injury to a single individual. W. S. Crawford has shown that the forms of the House permit a few honest members to do this, if supported by the united voices of the

people. From his position in society—his high moral standing, sound judgment, and Christian principle, W. S. Crawford would be the last to recommend a course that endangered either property or the peace and good order of the community [hear, hear]. We shall, I hope, have the privilege of hearing him speak on this subject; and here I may be allowed to express my pleasure at his so kindly affording us the gratification of his company at this meeting [great applause]—and embracing this opportunity of uniting with Daniel O'Connell in promoting combined action for the redress of both English and Irish wrongs. That the time is come for a resort to this course, has already been determined by a unanimous resolution of a town's meeting in this hall. To prove (if proof was necessary) that some check to the lavish expenditure of public money is required, I will mention the sum bestowed on a single individual, the Duke of Wellington. Here Mr Sturge read a statement, to show that the Duke of Wellington has got of the public money about two millions and a quarter sterling. He then proceeded—But you may say that was done under the old constitution of the House of Commons. Things are better managed under the new [a laugh]. To show that they are not improved, I will read to you a short statement of what that has done during the twenty-two days it has been in session [hear, hear].

It refused to assure her Majesty, that while her faithful Commons would vote such supplies as might be just and necessary, their first duty was to inquire into the grievances of the people, with a view to remove all just causes of complaint, by 285 against 29; majority, 256.

It refused to inquire into a series of grievances of which the people complained, by 130 against 22; majority, 108.

It refused to postpone the Navy Estimates till after Easter, by 105 against 11; majority, 94.

It refused to appoint a select committee to inquire into the allegations in numerous petitions presented, complaining that the House did not represent the people, by 91 against 15; majority, 76.

It refused to give an account of the public money paid to certain reporters employed by government to attend the repeal meetings in Ireland, on which the recent trials were founded, by 114 against 78; majority, 36.

It refused to affirm the principle that a standing army in time of peace is unconstitutional, by 87 against 8; majority, 79.

It refused to reduce the forces 20,000 men, by 114 against 12; majority, 102.

It refused to address her Majesty to inquire into the case of the Amers of Scinde, whose territory the British have invaded, by 202 against 68; majority, 134.

It negatived an amendment refusing to pass a vote of thanks to Sir Charles Napier, for conquering the Scinde, by 164 against 9, majority, 155.

It refused, after nine nights' debate, to go into committee, to consider the state of Ireland, by 324 against 225; majority, 99.

It suspended the standing order to hurry through a bill, which originated in the House of Lords, having for its object the protection of aristocratic horse-racing gamblers, whose violation of the law has exposed them to heavy penalties.

It voted the Navy Estimates, amounting to £6,382,990, after negativing, without divisions, several amendments, having for their object a reduction of various items in detail.

It voted in one evening, army estimates for effective service, amounting to 100,295 men, and £3,783,437 sterling, negativing amendments already noticed [great cheering].

These are dry statistics, but most important facts ["Hear, hear," from Mr O'Connell]. Mr Sturge next gave an analysis of the present House of Commons, to show that nothing else was to be expected, there being about 160 members in one way or another connected with the army and navy. What good could really be expected from a House of Commons composed of such men [hear, hear]? We find one of these military members impudently taunting the member for Coventry, only the night before last, for inquiring into the different items of expense, and the man (Col. Sibthorpe) who is receiving the country's money daring to tell the representative of a large city that every cobbler should keep to his own last [laughter]—that, in fact, he who did not receive any of the spoil from the pockets of the people, had no right to meddle with the subject [cheers]. The estimates of the money and the men for keeping up the armed despotism of the country you will see have been already hurried through the House of Commons; but though our friend W. S. Crawford did not meet with that support which made him feel justified in moving a succession of amendments, I hope he will not suppose that he has done no good [cheers]. Though the government have stolen a march upon us this session, and sufficient time has not been allowed for any very general expression of public opinion, we have seen the strength of our position; and while I hope he will persevere in the line of conduct he has adopted, at every practical opportunity during this session, I think we shall show a bolder front at the opening of the next; for I am persuaded, from my own observation of the unanimous enthusiastic feeling at numerous public meetings, that he has an extent of support in the cause he is pursuing far beyond what he supposes; and I hope and believe that our Irish friends generally will see it their duty to give the plan their cordial support, for none are more oppressed by the misapplication of the public money than they are [hear, hear]. I know that I am trespassing upon your patience in occupying so much time in the presence of one we are all so anxious to hear, and whom in the warmth of their gratitude for his services his countrymen call their "Liberator." I feel particularly called upon to raise my feeble voice in encouraging my fellow-townsmen to tender him their sympathy in the struggle in which he is engaged, and which, as has

been shown, involves the right of all Englishmen. In years that are past, when we were pleading for those who had none of their own class who could help them—I mean the West India slaves—the voice and vote of Daniel O'Connell was ever at the service of the friends of this oppressed race, practically showing that his benevolence was not confined to colour or clime [cheers]. I recollect when we carried by a majority of three, against the ministry of the day, a vote in favour of the immediate abolition of slavery, Daniel O'Connell was the first to hasten out of the house in the delight of his heart to announce the joyful intelligence to us, and, regardless of the effect it may have upon the repeal subscription, he has recently addressed a bold and faithful remonstrance to those of his fellow-countrymen in America who uphold slavery. He has strong claims upon all the friends of religious freedom, for he fully advocates the voluntary system; and he has an especial claim upon the friends of peace. Recollect, all that he has achieved for his country has been without the shedding of blood, and at Clontarf he has shown a more powerful means of conquering the Duke of Wellington, than the skill of Napoleon, aided by the combined forces of Europe—a victory which, while it will embalm his name in the gratitude of the wise and good of all nations, will, I trust, be seconded by the labours of men treading in Theobald Mathew's steps, be deemed worthy of imitation by every civilised nation upon earth. Will you, my fellow-townsmen, without raising your solemn protest against it, allow such a man as this to spend his days within the precincts of a gaol [great cheering]? Let us henceforth unite in a powerful determination to prevent the treasures of our country from being appropriated by any House of Commons that does not fully, fairly, and truly represent the country; it is only in such a House of Commons that we have any security for the preservation of our dearest earthly blessing, for

"Tis liberty alone that gives the flower
Of effeting life its lustre and perfume,
And we are weeds without it."

(Mr Sturge sat down amid long continued cheers.)

Mr WILSON seconded the resolution, which was carried amidst great cheering.

Mr ALBRIGHT proposed, and Mr HUGH HUTTON seconded, the adoption of a petition to parliament, embodying the above resolutions, which was carried with acclamation.

The CHAIRMAN then introduced Mr O'Connell to the meeting. When the hon. and learned gentleman came forward to the front of the platform there was a general burst of cheering from the meeting. Those in the galleries rose from their seats, the men waving their hats, and the ladies their handkerchiefs. The cheering continued for nearly five minutes.

Mr O'CONNELL then proceeded to address the meeting, commencing with a reply to the question—"What brought me to Birmingham?"—

My first object is to express, in the strongest terms the English language would afford, delight and gratification at the sympathy which my country and I, as her advocate, have received from the people of England since the recent transactions [cheers]. I was grateful before I came, but what must be my gratification now, after having received such a hearty reception among you—when I see so many congregated thousands giving me—no, not me, but my unhappy country, the tribute of their sympathy, and I will add, perhaps, of their support [cheers]? For it is not an English fashion to shout loudly in support of a cause one day, and abandon it and treat it with neglect the next. That is a course you have not commenced yet, during the eight centuries that you have been a nation, and I hardly think it is worth your while to begin it now. I should not believe one word if any one were to tell me that your sentiments were now otherwise. I rejoice, therefore, to have to announce to the people of Ireland that there is no longer a distinction between Englishmen and Irishmen—that Saxon and Celt, Scotch, Welsh, English, and Irish, will henceforth be one nation in sentiment and sympathy, united together in one great general movement for the benefit of all. My first object, then, was to express my gratitude; the second, to exhibit that gratitude by endeavouring to conciliate the people of both countries—to animate them in the great object of putting down class legislation, the tyranny and oppression of the poorer classes—in putting an end to oligarchical dominion, and giving the sacred principle of democratical liberty its full sway and entire power [cheers]. I conceive that I am performing my duty in thus attempting to conciliate the two countries to each other—the people of the two countries; for, as to the upper classes, as they are falsely called—as to the wealthier classes, I make a present of them to anybody who may choose to pick them up [laughter]. There is one law for them and another for you.

He then proceeded to correct two mistakes, which, he thought, the friends of liberty in England had fallen into. The first was the supposition that the act of the union was a bargain between Great Britain and Ireland:—

I utterly deny that it was a bargain, and I will tell you why [hear]. The Irish people were not consulted with respect to it. The meetings of the people to petition against the measure were prevented. The sheriff of King's County and the sheriff of Tipperary called meetings of the people for the purpose of petitioning against the measure, and those meetings were dispersed at the point of the bayonet. During the time the union was in agitation, trial by jury was suspended, the Habeas Corpus act was suspended, martial law was proclaimed, and was frequent all over the country. The people did not dare to utter one word, for a jury of five officers could send any man to the gallows, and they did send a multitude there. There were 175,000 bayonets in Ireland at the time, and the people could not hold public meetings. Yet, even in that state of things, 707,000 people petitioned against the union, petitions being carried from house to house. There were only 5,000 petitioners in favour of the union, and the measure was carried by force and fraud, aided by the most enormous bribery that was ever yet invented. No less a sum than £1,275,000 was given for the purchase of rotten boroughs, and £3,000,000 was

spent in direct corruption, in order to effect the object [cries of "Hear, hear!"]. I deny, then, that the union was the result of a bargain.

The second mistake was, in supposing a repeal of the union meant separation:—

I deny it, and I go further, and say that if I thought it did mean separation, I should not be for it. And I tell you, with all the solemnity, but none of the profaneness, of an oath—I tell you, in the solemnity of truth, that I am thoroughly convinced that the very means of preventing a separation between the two countries, is by repealing the Union. The people of Ireland cannot endure it; and I believe that but for my influence over them—an influence which to myself is astonishing, but which arises from a conviction that I have always laboured for the people, and against their enemies, and that my only motive is a desire to secure their comfort and happiness—I firmly believe, I say, that but for that influence a separation could not have been prevented [cheers]. Separation! Why the countries were joined for 800 years while Ireland had a parliament of her own. During the American war, the Irish people allowed every soldier to leave Ireland and go to America. There was no necessity for them, and the people of Ireland themselves armed for the defence of their country against the French, the Dutch, and Spanish. The Irish volunteers rose as one man, and became such a formidable bulwark to the country, that not a single foreign foe durst trample on the soil of Ireland for a moment [cheers]. No; what I want by repeal is not separation. I want to continue the connexion between the two countries. All I want is, that there should be a local parliament in Dublin to do the business of Ireland—to pass laws for Ireland alone—to have nothing to do with imperial concerns—to leave to England the government of the colonies, and of England, Wales, and Scotland; but to have nothing to do with laws binding on Ireland.

He proceeded to show, in an elaborate argument and by statistical information, the condition of Ireland under the union; the monstrous grievances under which she laboured, without any chance of redress; the retrograde condition of the people; the decline of her commerce; the odious system of land tenure, and the gross inequality of her representation in the national legislature. He was anxious to maintain the union in the only way in which it could be made permanent, by being useful and advantageous to both countries. But better prospects were opening upon Ireland, in the sympathy and affection of the people of England:—

I rejoice at those prospects; and believe me that the gratitude of the Irish people is not of a transitory nature or of short duration [cheers]. Need I tell you that the cheering which I have been greeted with to-day, and the cheers which are still ringing in my ears from the meeting at Covent Garden will call forth their deep and lasting gratitude [cheers]? I am bound to say on this occasion—and in the pride and exultation of my heart I say it—that I never on any former occasion saw such a meeting in England as the meeting of to-day [cheers]. I have been at a meeting in this hall before to-day—at a meeting when English affairs and English questions alone were agitated, and when the personal and peculiar interests of Englishmen were affected; but on that or any other occasion in England, I never saw such an immense, such a magnificent, such an overwhelming and overflowing assembly as I now see around me [immense cheering]. Oh, this is indeed a majestic meeting; and it affords an evidence of your sympathy, for which the Irish people will be deeply grateful [cheers]. Believe me, that whatever sins we have to answer for, the want of gratitude cannot be numbered amongst them; whatever errors of conduct may belong to us, they are mistakes of reason, but our hearts are right [tremendous cheering]. Oh, that cheer, given in Birmingham to-day, will extend all over Ireland; it will reach to the Giant's Causeway, and will be heard at Cape Clear; it will be re-echoed by the lofty hills of Connemara, and the mountain of Howth will, in a voice as if of volcanic power, announce to the people of Ireland the glorious intelligence that Englishmen are beginning to rally with us in our exertions to obtain our rights [renewed cheers]. Believe me that we are equally ready to sympathise with you in your struggle. Your Reform bill has been a total failure, for the constituencies had been just kept up to the bribery point, and the crime has thus increased; for, instead of bribing one person, now it is necessary to bribe as many as 150 or 200 individuals, and thus there is a multiplication of the crime, a crime which is one of that character that brings down the vengeance of Providence upon corrupt and profligate nations; and therefore I say, that the person is not a man, he is not a Christian, who will not rally with us in putting down those atrocious corruptions; we will assist you in your struggle. I am not one of those who are for refusing instalments of public liberty. I am for getting all I can, and I will help you to get as much as you can, leaving the rest to the future. The people of Ireland are ready to go with you. Our principles of parliamentary reform are manifest. We insist that not cows, or sheep, or houses shall have votes, but men. At present the mere occupation of a £10 house gives a vote, while the man who earns £25 a year by his labour—by the exercise of God's gifts—has none. I say that man is a slave [cheers]. It is robbery to deprive a man of his vote because he lives in a room and not in a house. What I am surprised at is, that you do not at once divide yourselves into a slave class and a master class [hear]. You sing at your dinners and meetings, "Britons never will be slaves." Why, I say that every man who has not a vote is a slave, and I will tell you why. A slave is one for whom somebody else makes laws—whose conduct, whose property, whose taxation is regulated by laws over which he has no control [hear]. That man is a slave. Write him down a slave! Men of Birmingham! form your slave class at once of those who have no votes. Count those who have—they are very few—and let the enormous multitude remaining, resolve that they will leave no peaceable means untried until they cease to be slaves and acquire as much power as their neighbours; they have the right to make their own laws [cheers]. Ireland, I say, is ready to assist. They may shut me up in a dungeon; they have me in their power [cries of "No, no!"]; I'll be as merry there as I am here—as determined there as I am here. I shall have as much influence over the people of Ireland there as I have here [cheers]. They may shorten the space of my daily walks, but they cannot lessen the sphere of my political influence [hear, hear]. Come what will, we will struggle with you.

After referring to the ballot and short parliaments he turned to the state prosecutions:—

Do not think I am vain enough to suppose that you have congregated in thousands to compliment me alone. No; but you are actuated by that high and noble feeling because you look on me as representing the people of Ireland [immense cheering]. That shout is raised in sympathy with the Irish people, and now, on behalf of that people, let me appeal to you against the gross and glaring injustice of the recent proceedings. Let me protest before you—let me protest in the face of man, and before the Creator, against that injustice, and let me here publicly proclaim them as the basest proceedings that were ever originated and carried on by a base government [cheers]. It may increase my sentence to describe those proceedings as I have done, but that shall not terrify me or deter me from expressing my opinion [renewed cheers]. They were right who informed you that what happens to-day in Ireland may be a precedent against you to-morrow. We appealed to the House of Commons for a redress of our grievances—we pointed to the distress of the country—we said we had not equal rights, and we demanded them.

In proof that the Irish had not equal rights with the people of this country, he brought forward a large mass of facts more especially connected with the state of parliamentary representation, and the impossibility of obtaining redress of grievances from parliament. The history of the state trials then came under review, upon the several steps of which he commented at some length, and with great effect. He reminded them of the great Birmingham meeting in 1832, when ministers were about to resign from not being able to carry the Reform bill—a meeting of 100,000 persons, where a petition and resolutions were agreed to, signed by Mr Thomas Attwood as the chairman, in which it was, among other things, agreed that the people of England should arm themselves to be prepared against circumstances. That was what in Ireland would be called a hint. He presented that petition to the House of Commons. Why did not the judges declare then that he was, with others, guilty of a conspiracy? Nothing he had ever said in Ireland approached at all to the language of that petition. Mr Attwood was after that made a borough magistrate, while he (Mr O'Connell), who assiduously denounced an appeal to everything in the shape of physical force, was convicted as a conspirator. The hon. gentleman concluded:—

I from this spot, now, from the centre of England, send forth my voice—I call on you, Englishmen, to avenge for yourselves, for your liberties. I call on you to hold the shield of your protection over the people of Ireland, for they are your fellow-countrymen; and never did the meteor flag of England beam over a battle-field that it was not sustained by the stalwart arms of Irishmen as well as Englishmen; and never was the shout of victory raised on the gory deck, that the blood which commingled with yours in procuring that victory was not Irish as well as English! We joined you in every battle; we joined you in every strife; and we are ready to join you in the present struggle to maintain the liberties of England, Scotland, and Ireland for ever! [The honourable and learned gentleman concluded amidst deafening cheers.]

Mr S. CRAWFORD was then introduced to the meeting by the chairman, and proceeded to address them. He recapitulated to the meeting the various attempts he had made to enforce his views on the House of Commons, and the results. He assured them that although he had as yet been unsuccessful, he was not disheartened. The people must crowd the table of the House of Commons with petitions, and then, perhaps, by another session the members of that House would better understand the feelings of the people out of doors.

Mr HUTCHIN then moved the thanks of the meeting to Mr O'Connell and Mr S. Crawford for their attendance at this meeting.

Mr J. MASON (a chartist) then addressed the meeting; and the resolution having been carried,

Mr O'CONNELL, in acknowledging the vote of thanks, said he highly approved of the supply movement—proceeding as it did on a sound principle—a principle, too, so powerful that if perseveringly applied would prove irresistible.

Thanks being voted to the chairman, the meeting separated. It lasted considerably upwards of four hours.

The Lymington Reform association have published resolutions expressive of admiration of, and sympathy with, Mr O'Connell.

GREAT MEETING OF THE LEAGUE.—The Anti-corn-law League had a meeting on Wednesday night, at Manchester, in the Free Trade hall. George Wilson, Esq., presided. After the chairman had opened the meeting by a spirited address, and after Mr Plint, of Leeds, had spoken, Mr G. Thompson made a long and eloquent speech, in which he dwelt with great animation on the interest which the League excites in India, and on the great progress it has made during his absence. He was much applauded at many parts of his speech, and the meeting gave great satisfaction to all the friends of free trade.

FREE-TRADE MEETING OF TENANT FARMERS.—On Wednesday evening last, a meeting of landed proprietors, tenant farmers, merchants, and tradesmen, was held at the Swan inn, Harleston, to take into consideration the propriety of petitioning parliament to repeal the duties on foreign corn, the duty on malt, and in favour of free trade generally. Thomas Lombe Taylor, Esq., of Starston, a gentleman of wealth, station, and intelligence, was called upon to preside, which he did with an ability seldom exceeded on similar occasions. The meeting was highly respectable, and composed of men holding various political opinions. After various speeches, and an interesting discussion, resolutions in favour of free trade were carried by an overwhelming majority, in spite of the opposition of many chartists present. The meeting, says the *Suffolk Chronicle*, which in its effects is evidently looked upon by the monopolists as the commencement of an agitation in

favour of free trade among the farmers themselves, then separated, having borne a most triumphant aspect through the whole of its proceedings.

ANTI-CORN-LAW MEETINGS.—During the past week large and enthusiastic free trade meetings have been held at Preston and Shelton, in the Staffordshire Potteries. At the former place Colonel Thompson, and Messrs Cobden, George Thompson, and Moore were present. £813 was subscribed, being more than double the amount raised last year. It is expected the amount will reach £1000. At the meeting in the Potteries £230 was raised; Messrs Ricardo, Cobden, Moore, J. Ridgway, and Colonel Thompson were the speakers. An attempt to obtain admittance by means of forged tickets failed through the vigilance of the free traders. At a large meeting at Saddleworth, attended by Mr Cobden and the other members of the deputation, £250 was subscribed.

THE ANTI-LEAGUE AGITATION.—A meeting of the tenant farmers and land-owners of North Cheshire was held at Northwich, on Tuesday, when it was resolved to form a society in opposition to the movements of the Anti-corn-law League. The subscriptions in the room amounted to £300. The history of this meeting, which does not appear in the monopolist journals, is worth relating. The advertisement calling the meeting stated that it was to consist "of tenant farmers, owners, and friends to native industry." On the day named, in spite of its being a ticket meeting, the market hall was well filled; and among the persons present were Lord de Tabley, Lord Delamere, Sir P. Egerton, M.P., &c. The assembled landlords did not seem to like the complexion of the meeting; one of them therefore announced that it was adjourned. Accordingly, the lords, gentry, and their tenants left the hall for a more congenial atmosphere. The numerous assemblage then appointed a fresh chairman, and unanimously adopted resolutions in favour of a repeal of the corn laws, and of confidence in the League.

MR ARTHUR O'NEIL.—It was generally reported yesterday (Friday) that Mr O'Neil had died in Stafford gaol. On making inquiries, however, last night, we learned that such was not the case, but that he has been, and is now, in a precarious state. A large number of his friends met last night, in the chapel in Newhall street, where it was stated that an application had been made in the course of the day, by one of his friends, to see him, but that the person had been refused admission. Another memorial has been, or will be, presented to Sir James Graham, relative to his state of health, and praying for a remission of his sentence.—*Birmingham Journal*.

MR VINCENT AT NOTTINGHAM.—On Monday evening Mr Vincent delivered a lecture in Salem chapel, Barker gate, Nottingham, on education; on Tuesday, on the history of the British parliament; and on Thursday, civil and religious liberty.

EDUCATION AT ASHTON-UNDER-LYNE.—At a meeting of Mr Sutcliffe's congregation in this town, on the 2nd instant—J. Cheetham, Esq., of Staleybridge, in the chair—it was resolved to erect and maintain two schools, one contiguous to the chapel, and another at the opposite end of the town. Charles Hindley, Esq., M.P., Mr Massie, of Manchester, and Mr Sutcliffe, addressed the meeting, after which £2000 was subscribed (hundreds of which were from the operative classes), since increased to £2,230, and likely to reach £3,000.

A TEN HOURS FACTORY BILL.—A very numerous public meeting of the inhabitants of the borough of Leeds, convened by the mayor, in compliance with a requisition signed by men of all parties, was held at the Music hall, on Saturday evening, to promote the passing of an efficient legislative measure for regulating the working of labourers in factories, and for limiting the labour of young persons, between thirteen and twenty-one years of age, to ten working hours per day, for five days in each week, and eight hours on the Saturday. Mr Joshua Hobson (the printer of the *Northern Star*) occupied the chair, and Dr Hook, Mr B. Jowitt, of London, and Mr Richard Oastler addressed the meeting.

True bills were on Tuesday returned by the grand jury at our assizes against Messrs Ward and Wilkinson, the agents of Lord Dungannon, for the act of bribery which cost that noble individual his seat, and led to the introduction of Mr Bright to this city.—*Durham Chronicle*.

THE SANGUINARY GAME LAWS.—At the Chelmsford assizes, on Wednesday, three men were each sentenced, by Baron Alderson, to ten years' transportation for the "very heinous crime" (as stated by the judge) of trespassing in pursuit of game. Another offender was sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment, with hard labour.

GREAT MEETING OF PITMEN.—Nearly 20,000 pitmen of this district, members of the Miners' Union, met on Shadon Hill, on Saturday last, and unanimously resolved to continue and support their organisation.—*Gateshead Observer*.

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE.—STATE OF IRELAND.—The Newcastle Complete Suffrage Association had resolved to hold a public meeting on the subject of Ireland—the monster trial—and the grievances of the Irish people. A requisition was accordingly prepared, and in the course of a day, without any publicity, 90 signatures were obtained. The following day a handbill was issued, supposed to emanate from the whigs of the town, announcing a requisition to the mayor, for signature at the offices of the liberal newspaper; we have accordingly handed over to them the signatures we have obtained, and intend to co-operate with them.—*From a Correspondent*.

SEIZURE UNDER THE INCOME TAX.—Messrs Fielden, of Todmorden, the largest spinners and manufacturers in the kingdom, returned their income-tax papers "nil;" but the commissioners, not being satisfied with the return, assessed them in about £300. The hon. member for Oldham, as the senior partner of the concern, appealed against the decision of the commissioners, and upon oath at Rochdale confirmed the correctness of the return. He was then told that the matter should be further considered, and that when he was wanted again, he would be sent for. There the matter rested till Tuesday last, when, to the astonishment of his brothers, a sheriff's officer walked into their works at Todmorden, and took possession of the whole premises. Such was the feeling that this act excited among the workpeople, that the officers thought it prudent to relinquish the premises and proceed to Manchester, where possession was taken of a warehouse belonging to the firm. Mr Fielden still refusing to pay the tax, the officers have determined to sell for the amount, and with that object, advertised to be sold, on Monday last, at Manchester, a quantity of gray domestics and sheeting, taken from the warehouse of Messrs Fielden.

A PROFIGATE CLERGYMAN.—At the Northampton assizes last week, Nathalie Miard, a French prostitute, was charged with writing menacing letters to Mr Herbert Charles Marsh, rector of the parish of Barnack, and prebendary of Peterborough. The cause of this prosecution will appear from the subjoined extract from the *Times*:—"This person, the son of the late Bishop of Peterborough, and, in consequence of that relationship, 'placed in the receipt of some £1,250 a year, which the piety of other ages thought it was consecrating to the service of God,'—this man, priest of the church of England, has dared to institute proceedings, in the course of which it appears, principally from his own avowal, that he has been expending these revenues in buying the silence of French mistresses. One such affair, which gives rise to the present prosecution, has cost him about £1,200—three or four years' revenue of his prebend; to another he incidentally alludes in his evidence. How many more remain behind we have no means of knowing. He, of course, avows himself a profligate; and, as a prebendary, we suppose, thinks himself entitled to be a dainty one. Some coy reluctance he does manifest on a single point—the pecuniary value of his church preferment. Here, and here alone, he interjects a plaintive 'Must I answer?' Happily, however, our 'pleasant vices' are sometimes 'made whips to scourge us.' Mr Marsh's profligacy is more than equalled by his imbecility; and the consequence is, that he has been plundered and tormented into the almost insane remedy of the present prosecution." The jury returned a verdict of "Not guilty." It transpired, in the course of the trial, that information relating to the gross and continued immorality of this "dignified" profligate had been laid before the bishop of the diocese as long ago as September last. The bishop could not have been wholly ignorant that the allegations were substantially correct. And yet (we again cite the *Times*) this man, who had been rector of Barnack nearly twelve years, and, up to 1841, appears, from his own evidence, to have been in disreputable connexion with Frenchwomen, "continued, and continues, with the connivance of his bishop, to preach, to administer the sacraments, and to appear as the authorised representative of the English church, the guardian of souls, the guide of consciences to an English congregation!"

The *Ipswich Express* of yesterday morning says—"An awful fire is now raging, at the time of our going to press, at Barking, near Needham market, the flames of which may be distinctly seen from the town. The two Suffolk Fire office engines are despatched, and the greatest anxiety prevails in Ipswich."

Literature.

Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and the other British Provinces in North America; with a Plan of National Colonisation. By JAMES S. BUCKINGHAM. Fisher, Son, and Co. pp. 540.

MR BUCKINGHAM produces volumes as the cod produces fish—in shoals. They come like the carriages in a railroad train—"another, and another, and another," leaving us to wonder when the last will have passed by.

Yet his works are of a kind which supply much good information, without being tedious; or, if perchance the reader may now and then come to a page of statistics, which nothing but a most positive organ of number can drag him through—he thinks of it as that which may be useful to him at a future day, and he gladly slides into some easy and graceful narrative, which soon smooths his wrinkles and puts him into good humour.

Mr Buckingham left the United States for Canada, by crossing Lake Ontario, and passing by the fortress of Niagara. Of this fortress he gives, in the first pages of his volume, a very interesting though horrifying description. Toronto, situated on the banks of Lake Ontario, has taken the place of Little York which, by an intelligible soubriquet, was called "Dirty Little York." Its position is most advantageous, its edifices handsome, and its arrangements symmetrical. Wood is here used extensively for pavements and for roads.

"Not only are these wooden side-walks in general use here, but, in one instance, planks of fir have been used for making an extensive road into the country leading

eastward from Toronto to Kingston. We drove about six miles out on this road beyond the river Don, and I never remember to have traveled so smoothly. The planks composing the road are about fifteen feet in length, a foot in breadth, and an inch in thickness; they are sawn smoothly, but are not planed. The road is first leveled, and on the bed thus formed these planks are laid across transversely, and not lengthwise, as in the side-walks. A small portion of soil and dust is strewed over the whole, to prevent unnecessary friction on the wooden surface; so that unless the attention of the traveler was called to the fact, he would not perceive the planks over which he was driving, though he would recognise the unusual smoothness of the road by the motion. But, while to the casual observer it presents the same earthy and dusty appearance as any other road, there are no ruts or pits in it—scarcely, indeed, a mark of the horses' feet or carriage wheels that pass over it. On close examination, however, he will see the separate planks, and trace their lines of junction, and he will also hear the peculiar dull sound given out by the low rumbling of his vehicle over the wooden platform. In addition to the great comfort of driving on such a road as this, I was glad to learn that it is so much less expensive here, where pine wood is abundant, than the macadamised roads, that it is likely to be extensively used over the country in future. A road of the former description costs at least £1,000 per mile, and requires reparation in this climate almost every year. A road of the latter kind can be well made for £500 a mile, in the first instance, and would not require to be repaired more than once in ten years."—pp. 13-14.

Mr Buckingham points out several minor circumstances which, though the distance was so small, reminded him he had left the "States." The greater distinction between pews in churches—the parish clerk droning out his responses—the pomp of the ritual, mark the difference in the religious services; whilst the solicitation of beggars, the absence of the abominable tobacco chewing, the attention paid to ladies, the civility of shop-keepers, indicated in other departments that he was upon British ground. According to Mr Buckingham's description, the society of Toronto is of the very first order. Good it must be to merit the eulogium—it "appeared to me to combine all the requisites of the most perfect social intercourse—elegance, without ostentation—competency, without extravagance—learning, without pedantry—politeness, without frivolity—and a manly frankness and candour, without undue familiarity." It is some set-off to the author's praise that, true to its British origin, Toronto seems fond of disparaging its neighbours and applauding itself. Mr Buckingham testifies that he heard more scandal in three weeks than he had heard in the United States in three years!

We are sorry to find that Mr Buckingham imagines the preponderance of temperance to be in favour of the United States over Canada. This subject in general occupies a large space in his volumes.

After an agreeable passage of eighteen hours down Lake Ontario, our traveler reached Kingston, which stands at the entrance of that lake. As a military position, this town has many claims to notice, though its buildings are heavy in their general effect. The seat of government is now fixed in this town.

Leaving Kingston, our traveler steered amidst the thousand isles of the St Lawrence, for Montreal. This he reached partly by water and partly by land. The description given of Montreal is, as its importance demands, the fullest in the volume. Every thing here is of French origin, and the catholic cathedral is the most prominent of the public buildings. Much of the property about Montreal belongs to a brotherhood and nunneries within the city, and the seignorial rights which they exercise are both extensive and lucrative. Montreal stands at the head of the navigable part of the St Lawrence, the rapids rendering that river impassable above for vessels of all kinds. It is, therefore, the port for Upper Canada, and the point of communication with the United States. Mr B. describes the society as inferior to that of Toronto, and the laxity of morals as being, by the large admixture of official and military persons, very great. Montreal is deliciously situated, and "the view," says our author, "from the brow of the mountain" above it, "is one of the finest that this or any other country could produce, and is worth a long voyage or journey to enjoy." We extract the very good description:—

"The noble stream of the St Lawrence, over which the eye ranges for a distance of twenty or thirty miles at least, forms a magnificent feature in the scene; while the richly cultivated plains beyond the river, dotted thickly over their whole extent with white villages and closely clustered hamlets and cottages, contrastingly vividly with the rich green of the full-foliated woods and the golden hue of their now ripened corn-fields—the blue masses of the Belleisle mountains in the nearer background, and the lighter tints of the still loftier chain in the farthest distance, rising beyond the British and American frontiers within the states of New York and Vermont—the lovely little spots of St Helen's and the Nun's island in the centre of the stream, and the sparkling radiance of the metallic-roofed spires of the numerous parish churches, beaming like scattered points of light, placed purposely to show the number of the sacred edifices spread over the surface of the land—with the reflected rays of the declining sun, given out by the white tin roofs of the colossal cathedral towering high above all the other buildings of the town—the church steeples and the terraces of the public and private buildings in the city of Montreal—contributed to make up a picture which, for extent of view, richness of colouring, and variety of feature, has few or no superiors, perhaps, on

the surface of the globe. It is impossible to convey, in an engraving, the enchanting effect of such a scene; because the immensity of space over which the eye ranges, and the size and grandeur of the objects, cannot be reduced to paper; but the accompanying view of Montreal from the mountain, will convey as accurate idea of the whole as can be produced on so limited a scale."—pp. 159, 160.

Descending the St Lawrence, which is here about two miles broad, we are next landed at Quebec—a city imposing in appearance and rich in historical recollections. The name of Wolfe instantly occurs to the memory in connexion with the bold movement by which, though he lost his life in the attempt, he gained this city to the British power. The readers of this volume will perceive, however, that Wolfe is not the only interesting name with which Quebec stands associated. The position of this city is advantageous and almost impregnable, though the inhabitants lose in internal accommodation what they gain by external site. Like all Canada—

"The climate of Quebec embraces the two extremes of heat and cold, and must be very trying to the constitution of strangers. The winters are long and dreary, the snow commencing usually in October, and sometimes covering the ground all the time till May. During this period of seven months, the weather is as cold as it is in December or January in England; and, in the depth of their winter, the thermometer is more frequently below zero than above it; sometimes descending to 35° and 40°. Furs are then worn by all who can afford them, as in Russia; and hats for the head are rarely or never seen. The guards on the ramparts are obliged to be changed every hour, so that there is a constant marching and relieving of men at their posts. Instances have been known in which a soldier, having dropped or mislaid his mittens, has had hands frost-bitten by holding his musket; and officers, we were assured, take with them little pocket-mirrors, in which they are enabled to see, from time to time, whether any part of their faces has changed colour; it being thus easy to see a frost-bitten part without being able to feel it. The speedy application of friction and snow will restore the dormant action, and prevent the putrefaction which would otherwise ensue. In May the snows begin to melt, the frosts to break up; and in June the summer bursts into full maturity, almost without the interval of spring. Its shortness, however, renders it necessary that the heat should be great, or otherwise the grains and fruits of the earth would not ripen. Accordingly nature provides this intensity of heat while the short summer lasts. The heat is excessive, even in the citadel and on the elevated parts of the country round about; but in the lower streets of the city, and in the coves under the heights of Cape Diamond, the heat is said to be suffocating, and far more oppressive to the feelings than is ever experienced either in the East or the West Indies."—pp. 262, 263.

We have now gone through about one-half of the volume. It is not that the second half is less interesting that we stop at this point. But our limited columns are peremptory. We have Lord Morpeth's testimony as to Mr Buckingham's accuracy, and it is no mean one. For the rest, without great pretension, the work is written in an easy, fluent, narrative style; and the reader who goes through the volume will lay it down with thanks to its author. We are sorry, however, from the conclusion of the work, to observe that the (not inconsiderable) profits of Mr Buckingham's transatlantic lectures have been lost to him by the unfortunate casualties to which all property, and especially American property, is liable.

Several engravings accompany the work, well executed, after sketches which must be extremely beautiful.

MARRIAGES.

March 3, at Portmahon chapel, by Mr J. Davis, Mr SAMUEL MASON, Queen street, Portmahon, to Miss MARTHA HILL, Meadow street.

March 3, in the Independent chapel, Chesterfield, Mr JOSEPH H. MARSDEN, Wesleyan local preacher, to Miss E. HORTON, both of Chesterfield.

March 3, at the Countess of Huntingdon's chapel, Bath, by Mr John Owen, Mr WM. HANDY, to FANNY, daughter of Mr Jas DAVIDGE, of Stothert's cottage, Bristol road.

March 4, at Hope chapel, Liverpool street, Salford, Mr AARON DAVIES, to Miss MARY HENDERSON, both of Salford.

March 4, at the New Road Independent chapel, Bury, Lancashire, by Mr J. Nugent, Mr JOHN HEAP, letter-press printer, to Miss ALICE MORTIMER, both of Bury.

March 5, at Salem chapel, Cheltenham, by the pastor, Mr Lewis, EDWARD, youngest son of the late Mr FRANCIS RAWLINGS, to CAROLINE, niece of the late John BAILEY, Esq., of Keynsham house.

March 6, at Munden, by the pastor, Mr W. Myall, GEORGE PARKER MAY, Esq., M.D., of Maldon, to MARY MARGARET, only daughter of Richard SULLY, Esq., of Mandon hall.

March 6, at the Baptist chapel, Farringdon, Berks, Mr A. HAY, baptist minister, to Miss ELIZA SANDERS, of Shaldon, Devon. For upwards of seven years Mr Hay sustained the ministerial character at Farringdon with usefulness and integrity. He will shortly leave England, much regretted by his friends, to take the pastoral care of the baptist church at Graham's Town, South Africa.

March 7, at the Independent chapel, York road, Lambeth, by Dr Alliot, JAMES BASNETT, Esq., of Walworth, to CAROLINE PINKSTAN, daughter of the late John Denton Pinkstan FRENCH, M.D.

March 8, at Tonbridge chapel, by Mr John Woodward, London, Mr THOMAS HINDS, of Walton-on-the-Naze, Essex, to JANE, eldest daughter of the late Richard JOHNSON, Esq., of Fleetsholme house, St Bees, Cumberland.

DEATHS.

Jan. 23, at Chardon, Ohio, United States, in his 60th year, Mr A. SMITH, pastor of the baptist church in that town, and late of Houghton Regis, Beds.

Feb. 18, aged 52, Mr JOHN JONES, who for above twenty years sustained the ministerial character with respectability and usefulness in the baptist church at Blakeney, Gloucestershire.

Feb. 23, in her 77th year, MARY, relict of the late John HALL, Esq., Park house, near Colne, a member of the Society of Friends.

Feb. 28, at Matlock Bank, at the advanced age of 85 years, HANNAH, the wife of Mr Joseph NEALE; and on the Sunday following, the said JOSEPH NEALE, in the 88th year of his age. This old couple lived together in the bonds of matrimony sixty-four years. He only took to his bed the same day that his wife died.

March 6, at his residence, Dorking, Surrey, after a protracted affliction, THOMAS STANT, Esq., aged 56.

March 9, at his residence in Curzon street, Sir HENRY HALL, physician extraordinary to George IV., and physician to her Majesty Queen Victoria.

March 10, at her residence, Denmark hill, Camberwell, in the 93rd year of her age, Mrs SOPHIA SANGSTER, relict of Robert Sangster, Esq., of the same place.

At Mauritius, Mr D. JOHNS, the devoted and indefatigable missionary to Madagascar. He has left a widow at Mauritius, and three children in the Mission School, Walthamstow.

Trade and Commerce.

LONDON GAZETTE.

Friday, March 8.

The following buildings are certified as places duly registered for solemnising marriages, pursuant to the 6th and 7th William IV., cap. 85.—

Stoke Meeting chapel, Stoke Goldington, Buckinghamshire.

Zion chapel, Stockport, Cheshire.

BANKRUPTS.

BARKER, ROBERT, Manchester, druggist, March 20, April 23: solicitors, Messrs Shield and Harwood, Cheapside, and Messrs Bagshaw and Stevenson, Manchester.

BARWICK, JOSEPH, Great Carter lane, Doctor's Commons, livery stable keeper, March 21, April 25: solicitor, Mr Lett, Bartlett's buildings.

BREWER, THOMAS, Liverpool, flag dealer, March 22, April 19: solicitors, Messrs Bridger and Blake, Finsbury circus, and Mr Dodge, Liverpool.

DOUGLASS, JOSEPH, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, rope manufacturer, March 22, April 16: solicitors, Messrs Bell, Broderick, and Bell, Bow church-yard, and Messrs Bates and Dees, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

EDWARDS, HENRY, St Alban's, coal merchant, March 15, April 19: solicitors, Messrs Roche, Plowman, and Roche, Charles street, Covent garden.

FOORD, GEORGE, Lenham, Kent, seed merchant, March 19, April 16: solicitors, Messrs Bower and Co., Chancery lane, and Mr Hart, Maidstone.

LEWIS, RALPH, Mold, Flintshire, wine merchant, March 19, April 16: solicitors, Messrs Milne and Co., Temple, and Mr Ingleby, Mold.

MONTEFIORE, JACOB and JOSEPH BARROW, Nicholas lane, merchants, March 14, April 16: solicitor, Mr Ashurst, Cheapside.

PAYNE, JOHN DOUGLAS, and RUSHTON, LYDIA, Birmingham, furriers, March 20, May 3: solicitors, Mr Lloyd, Mill street, Cheapside, and Mr Griffiths, Birmingham.

THOMPSON, JAMES, Stoke-upon-Trent, Staffordshire, iron manufacturer, March 22, April 17: solicitors, Mr Smallwood, Admaston, and Messrs Mottram and Giddy, Birmingham.

WILKINSON, THOMAS, King street, Holborn, boot maker, March 15, April 19: solicitor, Mr Heath, Gracechurch street.

SCOTCH SQUER-TRATIONS.

BROWN, R., and SMITH, J., Edinburgh, ironmongers, March 14, April 4.

CHAPMAN, M., Bathgate, miller, March 14, April 4.

DOUD, D., Edinburgh, newspaper proprietor, March 14, April 6.

DOUGLAS, H., Greenock, merchant, March 14, April 4.

HOUSTON, W., Greenock, dyer, March 13, April 2.

KIPPEN, J. and LINDSAY, W. A., Greenock and Port Glasgow, merchants, March 14, April 4.

DIVIDENDS.

J. Bonny, Liverpool, tailor; first div. of 3s. 6d. in the pound, March 9, or any following Saturday—T. Johnson, Liverpool, printer; final div. of 2s. 10d. in the pound, March 9, or any following Saturday—J. Buckley, Higher Crompton, Lancashire, coal master; div. of 9s. 6d. in the pound, March 12, or any following Tuesday—G. Allison, Darlington, Durham, scrivener; second div. of 13s. 4d. in the pound, March 9, or any following Saturday.

Tuesday, March 12th.

The following buildings are certified as places duly registered for solemnising marriages, pursuant to the act of 6 and 7 William IV., cap. 85.—

Blackladies' chapel, Brewood, Staffordshire.

Bethel chapel, Toxteth park, Lancashire.

Wesleyan chapel, Wisbech St Peter's, Cambridgeshire.

BANKRUPTS.

ADAMS, THOMAS, Newport, Isle of Wight, publican, March 19, April 23: solicitor, Mr John Foster, 49, Jermyn street, St James's.

ALBOP, RICHARD, Manchester, grocer, March 22, April 23: solicitors, Messrs Johnson and Co., Temple, London, and Messrs Hitchcock and Co., Manchester.

CROWDER, ROBERT, West Auckland, Durham, iron founder, March 22, April 30: solicitors, Mr Stevenson, Darlington, and Mr Adam Burn, 14, Great Carter lane, Doctors' Commons, London.

ECKE, CHARLES, late of Rotherhithe, Surrey, and of Park street, Westminster, iron rivet manufacturer, March 20, April 24: solicitor, Mr J. M. Taylor, Clement's lane, Lombard street.

LIMBERT, GEORGE, Boroughbridge, Yorkshire, shopkeeper, March 29, April 26: solicitors, Messrs Williamson and Co., Gray's inn, London, and Messrs Blanchard and Co., York.

MILLAR, THOMAS, Liverpool, hosier, March 27, April 18: solicitors, Mr John Abbott, 10, Charlotte street, Bedford square, London, and Messrs Edward and Robert William Bennett, Manchester.

POTT, WILLIAM, Macclesfield, Cheshire, silk throwster, March 25, April 22: solicitors, Mr John Abbott, Charlotte street, London, and Messrs E. and R. Bennett, Manchester.

SCHOLEFIELD, JOSEPH, 39, Cheapside, City, cutler, March 21, April 19: solicitors, Messrs Shield and Harwood, Queen street, Cheapside.

SMITH, WILLIAM, late of 6, King street, St Giles's, but now of 399, Strand, printer, March 22, April 26: solicitor, Mr J. H. Webber, 3, Caroline street, Bedford square.

SMITH, WILLIAM, Nottingham, smallwareman, March 20, April 20: solicitors, Mr Cowley, Nottingham, and Messrs Mottram and Gidley, Birmingham.

SPARKE, ALGERNON, 28, Jewin crescent, Jewin street, city, wine merchant, March 19, April 24: solicitor, Mr Chisholm, Cook's court, Lincoln's inn.

STOREY, CHARLES ALLANBY, of Leeds, corn merchant, March 25, and May 1: solicitors, Mr Summers, Princes street, Leicestershire square, London; and Mr Ray, Leeds.

WOOD, GEORGE, Ingram, Northumbrian, banker, March 26, and April 30: solicitors, Messrs Nicholls and Doyle, Bedford row, London; and Mr Kent, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

DIVIDENDS.

C. Besley, Plymouth, clerk in her Majesty's dockyard; a first dividend of 3s. in the pound, on any day after the 12th of March—J. R. Munden, Barwick, Somersethshire, flax spinner; a first and final div. of 4s. 5d. in the pound, on any day after the 14th of March—W. P. Georges, Devonport, wine merchant; a first div. of 3s. 4d., and a final div. of 2d. in the pound, any day after the 14th of March—W. Rabey, Redruth, Cornwall, leather seller; a first div. of 2s. 8d., a second of 1s. 6d., and a final of 2d. in the pound, any day after the 14th of March—M. Harris, Swansea, Glamorganshire, draper; a div. of 9d. in the pound, Mar. 20, and any following Wednesday—W. Shaw, Stafford, saddler; a first div. of 5s. in the pound, Mar. 14, and any following Thursday—A. Laing, Halifax, Yorkshire, draper; a first div. of 1s. 8d. in the pound, any Wednesday—T. Creeke, Cambridge, tailor; a first div. of 5s. 6d. in the pound, any Wednesday—J. Warburton, Liverpool, tailor; a second div. of 10d. in the pound, any Saturday—J. B. Williams, Bristol, ironmonger; a div. of 1s. 6d. in the pound, March 13, and any following Wednesday—G. Ratcliffe, Sheffield, fender manufacturer, a div. of 2s. 6d. in the pound, any Wednesday—J. Pepper, Wotton-under-Edge, Gloucestershire, tailor; a div. of 10d. in the pound, March 13, and any following Wednesday—G. Holdsworth, Salter mill, Halifax, Yorkshire, worsted spinner; a first div. of 3s. 4d. in the pound, March 21 and 28, and any Thursday after April 26—D. K. and D. Price, Pilgrim street, Ludgate hill, warehousemen; a second div. of 2s. 6d., and first and second dividends of 1s. 6d. in the pound, March 13, and any following Wednesday—R. Kipling and W. Atkinson, Wood street, Cheapside, warehousemen; a first div. of 4s. 6d. in the pound, March 13, and any following Wednesday.

THE NONCONFORMIST.

BRITISH FUNDS.

The official announcement has been made of the intention of government to carry into effect a plan for the reduction of the interest upon the three-and-a-half per cents. Opinions are much divided in the city with reference to the value of the new guaranteed stock and other public securities; but in general the plan appears to find favour, not only with the public, but the fundholders themselves. The funds have been pretty steady during the past week, and a large business has been done.

	Wed.	Thur.	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.
3 per cent. Consols	97½	97½	98½	98½	98½	98½
Ditto for Account	97½	97½	98½	98½	98½	98½
3 per cents Reduced	98½	—	—	—	—	—
3½ per cts. Reduced	103	—	103	—	—	—
New 3½ per cent.	102½	102½	102½	102½	102½	102½
Long Annuities	12½	—	12½	—	—	—
Bank Stock	—	—	—	—	—	—
India Stock	—	280	282	—	—	—
Exchequer Bills	71pm	73pm	72pm	72pm	71pm	71pm
India Bonds	89pm	88pm	—	—	—	—

MARKETS.

MARK LANE, MONDAY, March 11.

Though there was but a short supply of English wheat to-day, there was no life in the trade, and after the few fine parcels were selected out at last week's prices, the sales were very slow, and some runs remained unsold at the close of the market. Free foreign continues to meet a retail demand from the town millers, without any alteration in prices. In bonded but little demand.

Barley was in good supply, and except for fine selected samples for seed, every description must be quoted is. cheaper.

The oat trade continues exceedingly dull, and little progress has yet been made in sales of the recent arrivals of Irish; on some descriptions the holders have been obliged to give way 6d. to 1s. per quarter, where pay days are about expiring.

Beans in large supply, and 1s. lower.

White peas are very scarce, and held for 1s. advance.

Wheat, Red New .. 50 to 57

Fine 59 .. 64

White 50 .. 62

Fine 63 .. 65

Flour, per sack .. 39 .. 52

Barley 27 .. 30

Malting 32 .. 36

Beans, Pigeon .. 30 to 32

Harrow 27 .. 28

Oats, Feed 18 .. 21

Fine 22 .. 23

Poland 20 .. 23

Potato 20 .. 23

WHEAT, Red New .. 56s. 2d.

Barley 33 .. 9

Oats 20 .. 0

Rye 35 .. 3

Beans 30 .. 5

Peas 31 .. 0

DUTY ON FOREIGN CORN.

Wheat, Pigeon .. 30 to 32

Wheat 18s. 0d.

Barley 28

Oats 7 .. 0

Rye 9 .. 6

Beans 10 .. 6

Peas 10 .. 6

AGGREGATE AVERAGE FOR THE SIX WEEKS.

Wheat 56s. 2d.

Barley 33 .. 5

Oats 19 .. 4

Rye 33 .. 5

Beans 30 .. 1

Peas 30 .. 11

SEEDS.

Red clover seed, with large arrivals from France, is 2s. to 3s. cheaper, with a very limited demand for so advanced a period of the season. Canary seed met very little attention, and barely supported former rates. Spring tares were not so free a sale as last week.

Linseed	per qr	Clover	per ewt
English, sowing	50s. to 60s.	English, red....	60s. to 76s.
Baltic, ditto	—	Ditto, white....	100 .. 130
Ditto, crushing	38 .. 41	Flemish, pale....	54 .. 73
Medit. & Odessa	38 .. 41	Ditto, fine....	70 .. 115
Hempseed, small	35 .. 38		

WANTED, a TEACHER in the GIRL'S SCHOOL of ARLIDGE'S CHARITY at KENILWORTH, in the County of Warwick, fully competent to instruct the Children in all the ordinary branches of a sound and useful education, on the BRITISH SYSTEM.

She must be a Dissenter of Congregational principles, and not under Twenty-five years of age. The most respectable testimonials will be required by the Trustees.

Apply, by letter only, to Rev. JOHN BUTTON, Kenilworth, or to Mr JOHN MERRIDEW, Bookseller, &c., 27, Parade, Leamington.

GROCER'S, CHEESEMONGER'S, AND TALLOW CHANDLER'S BUSINESS — ESSEX. Mr P. BROAD is instructed to dispose of an Old Established Concern in the above Line, pleasantly situate in a respectable and healthy Market Town, about 20 miles from London. The premises are very commodious, comprise an excellent dwelling-house, with commanding double-fronted shop, outbuildings, garden, &c. Returns about £80 per week. Lease and goodwill, £100. Stock and fixtures, about £500. Apply, post-paid, to Mr P. Broad, licensed grocers' and oilmen's valuer, 12, Tavistock street, Covent garden, London.

METROPOLITAN ANTI-STATE-CHURCH ASSOCIATION.

A PUBLIC MEETING of the Friends of Religious Freedom will be held at the LONDON TAVERN, BISHOPSGATE, on WEDNESDAY, MARCH 20, to consider the necessity of an aggressive movement for the Separation of Church and State; to express approval of the proposed Anti-state-church Conference; and to appoint Two Delegates to the same. The Rev. Dr COX will take the Chair.

Dr BOWRING, M.P.; W. S. CRAWFORD, Esq., M.P.; Dr PRICE; Rev. C. STOVEL, and other well-known friends of the cause, are expected to be present. The Chair will be taken at Seven o'Clock precisely.

Tickets of admission may be had on application to the Secretary, Mr G. SIMMONS, 203, Upper Thames street; Mr MABBS, 239, Upper street, Islington; Mr CLELLIN, jun., 198, Ratcliffe highway; 28, Upper King street; and at the *Nonconformist* and *Patriot Offices*.

THE ANTI-STATE-CHURCH CONFERENCE.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, appointed to prepare for the ANTI-STATE-CHURCH CONFERENCE, hereby announce the ARRANGEMENTS upon which they have agreed.

The CONFERENCE will be held at the CROWN AND ANCHOR TAVERN, LONDON, and will open its Sittings at Eleven o'Clock in the FORENOON of TUESDAY, APRIL 30.

It will be composed exclusively of REPRESENTATIVES; each Representative giving his assent to a distinct DECLARATION of his CONVICTION, that the UNION OF THE CHURCH WITH THE STATE is derogatory to the Kingly character of JESUS CHRIST, contrary to the principles of the NEW TESTAMENT, and injurious to the interests of RELIGION; that it is therefore his bounden duty to employ every legitimate means for promoting the SEPARATION OF THE CHURCH FROM THE STATE; and that a CONFERENCE, composed of individuals entertaining these sentiments, and being the chosen Representatives of those who also entertain them, is a desirable method of commencing a serious movement towards the dissolution of so injurious and unscriptural an alliance between things civil and things sacred.

It is proposed that REPRESENTATIVES be chosen as follows:—

1. REPRESENTATIVES OF CONGREGATIONS. Single Congregations are invited to send two Representatives each; or any number of Congregations may unitedly elect four Representatives.

2. REPRESENTATIVES OF PUBLIC MEETINGS OF THE FRIENDS OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY. Public Meetings convened for the purpose, are invited to send two Representatives each.

3. REPRESENTATIVES OF DISSENTING COLLEGiate INSTITUTIONS—which are invited to send two Representatives each.

The appointment of Representatives must be notified to the PROVISIONAL SECRETARY, in writing, previously to the 23rd of April.

The EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE will furnish each duly appointed Representative with a ticket of admission, and an outline of the business which they intend to lay before the Conference; and any doubtful or disputed claims to admission will be referred to the Conference at its first sitting.

The EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE will attend the Conference to make their Report, and will take part in its proceedings; but will not consider themselves entitled to vote, unless individually chosen as Representatives.

It is probable that the sittings of the Conference will be held morning and evening, and that the proceedings will occupy at least three days.

F. A. COX,

Provisional Secretary.

FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

FOURTH LIST of ANNOUNCEMENTS connected with the Visit of the Deputation to London, including the arrangements up to and including Monday, March 18th.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 13th.

PARADISE CHAPEL, CHELSEA.—Sermon. Rev. W. K. Tweedie. 7 P.M.

INDEPENDENT CHAPEL, HARE STREET, BETHNAL-GREEN.—Public Meeting. Rev. C. J. Brown, Rev. Thomas Main. Half-past 6 P.M.

INDEPENDENT CHAPEL, JEWIN STREET.—Sermon. Rev. Dr Mackellar. 7 P.M.

THURSDAY, MARCH 14.

SCOTCH CHURCH, RIVER TERRACE, ISLINGTON.—Public Meeting. Rev. Dr Buchanan, Rev. C. J. Brown. Half-past 6 P.M.

MARLBOROUGH CHAPEL, KENT ROAD.—Public Meeting. Rev. Dr Mackellar, Rev. W. K. Tweedie. Half-past 6 P.M.

FRIDAY, MARCH 15.

WESLEYAN CHAPEL, LONG LANE, SOUTHWARK.—Public Meeting. Rev. Dr Mackellar, Rev. Dr Buchanan, Rev. W. K. Tweedie.

SUNDAY, MARCH 17th.

FORENOON.

JOHN STREET CHAPEL, BEDFORD ROW.—Rev. J. H. Evans, Minister of the Chapel.

INDEPENDENT CHAPEL, MAIZE HILL, GREENWICH.—Rev. W. K. Tweedie.

INDEPENDENT CHAPEL, ORANGE STREET, LEICESTER SQUARE.—Rev. Dr Buchanan.

LION STREET CHAPEL, WALWORTH.—Rev. Dr Mackellar.

EVENING.

JOHN STREET CHAPEL, BEDFORD ROW.—Rev. Dr Buchanan.

LION STREET CHAPEL, WALWORTH.—Rev. W. K. Tweedie.

MONDAY, MARCH 18.

GREEN MAN, BLACKHEATH.—Public Meeting. Rev. Dr Mackellar, Rev. Dr Buchanan, Rev. W. K. Tweedie.

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